HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXIX, No. 3 Copyright 1969 by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc. January 18, 1969 35¢

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Strengthens Ties to Labor Chiefs

Ted Kennedy Looks to '72—or '76

By VICTOR RIESEL

Once, during happier times for the Kennedy clan, I walked the lanes of a university campus with "Ted." He was an agile young man, mentally and physically.

He laughed softly as he recalled how Peter Lawford had had to talk "Jack" out of wearing white tennis shoes with blue suits and open collars at receptions; and grinned as he spoke of Bobby's being a fast man on the political track; and wondered, since it was Friday, May 1, almost nine years ago, if it were sufficiently known that His Holiness had given special dispensation for the eating of meat. Young Kennedy had ordered roast beef for dinner.

And the years have engraved the impression that Ted Kennedy is not one to overlook the faux pas or to trip in a race with destiny. He is a careful man. He will not make his brother's political errors—especially Bobby's. And this means he will not alienate the influential American labor movement, nor its powerful political machinery, in building his "New Democracy."

In turn, this means that he will not reach for the presidency in 1972—if Hubert H. Humphrey, at 61 then, wants it. And Mr. Humprehy has told labor's high chiefs that he will spend the next four years "remaking" the Democratic party into a "liberal" party, and will need their support in the race for the Senate in 1970 and then again for the presidency in 1972.

Labor, in the rough-hewn, indestructible person of George Meany, has pledged him that support, though no practical politician ever seriously starts running four years ahead of time.

But whether Ted Kennedy is running for national office in '72 or '76, he certainly will reach out for the labor movement—the entire movement.

It is recalled that a melancholy Bob Kennedy, out of bitterness or anguish, did just the opposite. On Feb. 19, 1964, some three months after the assassination of President Kennedy, Bob broke his silence. He went over to the hall where 1,000 United Auto Workers delegates were meeting. It was the union's General Motors council. He spoke but three minutes.

Unlike his late brothers, Sen. Ted Kennedy is much more the practical politician, a fact which can stand him in good stead if he decides to make the presidential race in 1972. As columnist Riesel notes, Nixon had better keep his eye on EMK's moves.

"There is no other organization," said the emotionally exhausted attorney general, "with which President Kennedy had closer connections, nor any closer friend than the UAW.

"You played a major role in putting my brother into the White House and getting part of his program enacted."

Tensions and feuds being what they are inside labor, this was taken as a sharp rebuff by the AFL-CIO leadership. Its president, George Meany, had a father-son love for John Kennedy. But to Bob Kennedy it always appeared that the spirit and spokesman of American labor was Walter Reuther.

Through the years he made this clear. But when he swung into the presidential primaries last year, he telephoned an old friend, a newspaperman, and asked in his blunt fashion, how does one make it up with George Meany and the movement?

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, however, never has scalded the hides of the labor veterans. As a member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, he has always been ready to work with the labor federation's Andrew Biemiller, the anonymous "Mr. Lobby" himself.

So today the word in the big federation's headquarters is that "we're happy" he's the new whip. "We're with him, though we did not push an anti-Long campaign."

They see Ted Kennedy identifying himself with the day-to-day arduous legislative chores. They see him doing his homework. They see him, as the whip, going up to the White House in full Kennedy Camelot splendor to dialogue with the more subdued President Nixon.

But they do not see him, and they say, neither does he see himself, as the party's swiftly upcoming leader. They see, rather, a three-force coalition —Hubert Humphrey, Kennedy and labor.

This is so very early to talk 1972 politics. But everybody's doing it. So the labor leaders say, if you want to project, then project a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket, or a Muskie-Kennedy ticket if fateful forces play moral games in the next few years.

This does not disturb "young" Kennedy. Very little does now.

He reached for the whip on his own. Many of the Kennedy "government-in-exile" advised him not to make the fight; not to get out front; not to chance being identified with what could become disastrous legislation; not to be up there buffeted by the hurricane of war. But he vetoed all of them and went for it. He went regular. He'll stay regular.

And the nation may see what it never has—a formidable alliance of the Camelot of the Kennedys, the gradualism of powerful and imaginatively organized labor, and the traditional legions of Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson.

This would be a tough team for Richard Nixon to crack in 1972. He may have to move some heavyweights into his line.

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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon at right).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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Capital Briefs

● Overheard at a recent cocktail party: Sen. **Jacob Javits** (R.-N.Y.) telling friends he was "delighted" with liberal Democrat Alan Cranston's victory over conservative Republican Max Rafferty in the U.S. Senate contest in California. Crowing over Cranston's win, Javits remarked that he has had a warm feeling for "Alan" ever since they had been active in the World Federalist movement.

● **S. I. Hayakawa,** the tough-minded president of trouble-plagued San Francisco State College, recently assured Gov. Ronald Reagan he has no intention of permitting the militant students to close down the college. "You must remember," Hayakawa told the governor, "I am not only Japanese—I am also Samurai."

● Massachusetts Atty. Gen. **Elliott Richardson,** who will be the No. 2 man in the State Department in the Nixon Administration, is telling friends that one of his main jobs will be to reorganize the State Department from top to bottom. Furthermore, although he is a liberal Republican, Richardson is considered a hawk on the Viet Nam war.

● Several liberal Democrats in the Senate are seriously considering establishment of a formal organization, along the lines of the House Democratic Study Group (DSG), to prepare and round up support for liberal alternatives to Nixon Administration legislation. Headed by Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.), the **Senate liberals** say discussions are now only in the "talk stage," but plans for the organization—which would include hiring a special staff—have attracted substantial support.

● Senate Republicans rewarded an old colleague last week when they restored **Barry Goldwater** to his place on the coveted Armed Services Committee. A resolution introduced by Minority Leader Dirksen praised Goldwater for his "distinguished service" to the nation and gave him his old committee standing. The vote to restore Goldwater's seniority was unanimous.

● The newly elected chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, conservative **John Tower** of Texas, said last week that GOP chances for capturing Senate control are excellent. Tower noted that the GOP needs only eight more seats and that at least 12 of the 25 Democrats up for re-election in 1970 are vulnerable. Only one of the nine Republican incumbents (New York's Charles Goodell) is thought in any danger.

● Even before he enters the new Administration, Gov. **George Romney** is proving to be a political liability for Nixon. Just last week the Michigan governor caused a furor in religious circles when he suggested that all of the students in Michigan's parochial schools be transferred to public educational institutions.

● Upsetting conservative Republicans: the fact that **Henry A. Kissinger** and **William W. Scranton,** two foreign policy advisers of Nixon's, hosted the Ripon Society's Sixth Anniversary Dinner at New York City's Plaza Hotel last month.

● Vice President Hubert Humphrey is taking heart from a recent survey showing that Sen. **Eugene McCarthy's popularity** in his home state of Minnesota has dropped markedly since the Democratic convention in August. The Minneapolis Tribune published a poll revealing that for every three persons who now approve of McCarthy, five disapprove. Humphrey, it is known, is eager to run in 1970 for McCarthy's Senate seat.

● The Rev. **Ralph David Abernathy,** head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), told a group in Frogmore, S.C., that he couldn't go along with President-elect Nixon's idea of black capitalism. Remarked Abernathy: "I don't believe in black capitalism. I believe in black socialism. I don't want to be under the yoke of a black capitalist any more than a white capitalist. . . ." Nixon, nevertheless, has hired speechwriters from Abernathy's organization.

● Although the liberal **Ripon Society** has received much more publicity from sympathetic reporters than its size—some 600 members and 2,500 subscribers—would warrant, the group evidently is not satisfied. Just recently the Riponers secured the public relations services of the William Morris Agency in New York to handle the society's major publications.

● Among those who put up the forfeited $50,000 bail for Black Panther Minister of Information **Eldridge Cleaver**: Paul Jacobs, connected with the Center for the Studies of Democratic Institutions; Edward Keating, former publisher of Ramparts magazine; Godfrey Cambridge, the Negro actor and entertainer, and Dr. Phillip Shapiro, a San Francisco psychiatrist.

● The American film version of the exploits of Castroite revolutionist **Che Guevara,** being produced by 20th Century-Fox (see Human Events, Dec. 14, 1968, page 4) will not be the first film on the Red guerrilla to hit the market. An Italian production company has already completed a film called simply "Che Guevara," with a Spanish film star in the title role, and it should be released for worldwide distribution shortly, while Fox's "Che" is not expected for at least six months. The Italian version, covering only the last four days of Guevara's life in Bolivia, is expected to be even more sympathetic than the Fox production.

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No Prayers in Outer Space?

The Apollo 8 astronauts—Col. Frank Borman, Capt. James A. Lovell Jr. and Lt. Col. William A. Anders—were hailed as heroes when they appeared before a joint session of Congress last week. While tales of their Superman exploits intrigued the lawmakers, Col. Borman, taking notice of the Supreme Court justices in the front row, made a remark that brought down the house.

"Now, as you all know," said Borman, "the flight has been very well covered, but there was one significant accomplishment that has gone rather unnoticed, and I would like to take note of it today if I may.

"I think that one of the things that was truly historic was that we were able to get good Roman Catholic Bill Anders to read the first four verses of the King James version."

"But now that I see the gentlemen here in the front row," Borman remarked of the justices, "I am not sure we should have read the Bible at all."

ACU Slams Liberal Republicans

The American Conservative Union (ACU), headed by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), has just released a controversial report which is bound to be a hot topic of discussion in Republican circles. This illuminating document conclusively reveals that it has been a small number of liberal GOP House members who have been repeatedly responsible for providing Democrats with the necessary votes to win victory after victory on crucial legislative issues.

The second session of the 90th Congress, says the report, shows that on almost half the key rollcalls 30 liberal Republicans handed victory to the Democrats by bolting the majority GOP position.

In releasing its second Democratic Margin of Victory (DMV) report—the first was issued two years ago—the ACU says the facts should be a "warning to President-elect Richard Nixon that one of his most serious problems with the new Congress may be defections from the Republican ranks.

"In the second session of the 90th Congress, the familiar pattern of liberal Republican opposition to GOP legislative positions was the major reason for the success of the House Democrats on these issues. Unless the new President and the Republican congressional leaders exert pressure on the GOP liberals, the Nixon legislative program may suffer."

Students of the ACU report note that there were 28 rollcalls in the last session of Congress on which GOP defectors made the difference in the ultimate adoption of a major Democratic program or the defeat of a GOP proposal. In past Congresses, the maximum

ASHBROOK

LIPSCOMB

number of such votes in which the GOPers provided the Democrats with the victory margin was 16.

Many observers feel the mushrooming number of DMV votes results from a lack of pressure by the House GOP leaders against recalcitrant liberals and a generally increasing attitude of "me too" liberalism among Republicans.

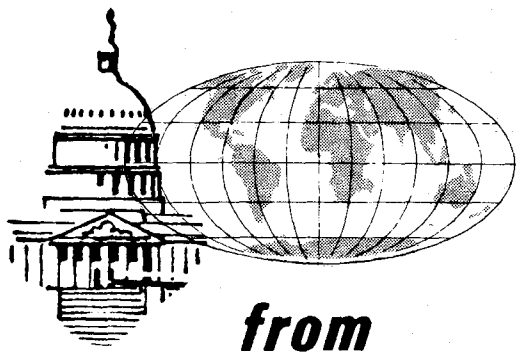
In order to reverse this liberal trend, there is a growing demand for firmer GOP leadership and the establishment of a Conservative Caucus which could anchor the House GOP to the right.

In the second session of the 90th Congress, there were 28 key rollcalls which the Democrats could not have won without Republican support. The following Republican House members sided with the Democrats at least 13 out of the 28 times:

Whalen, Ohio (23); Gude, Md. (21); Fulton, Pa. (21); Halpern, N.Y. (21); Horton, N.Y. (21); Morse, Mass. (21); Stanton, Ohio (21); Reid, N.Y. (20); Cahill, N.J. (19); McDade, Pa. (19); Stafford, Vt. (19); Bell, Calif. (18); Corbett, Pa. (18); Frelinghuysen, N.J. (18); Dwyer, N.J. (18); Mosher, Ohio (18); Widnall, N.J. (18); Biester, Pa. (17); Dellenback, Ore. (17); Esch, Mich. (17); Heckler, Mass. (17); McCloskey, Calif. (17); Ayres, Ohio (16); Button, N.Y. (16); Ruppe, Mich. (16); Conte, Mass. (16); Maillard, Calif. (15); Quie, Minn. (15); Robison, N.Y. (15); O'Konski, Wis. (15); Mathias, Md. (14); Conable, N.Y. (14); Railsback, Ill. (14); Smith, N.Y. (14); Keith, Mass. (13); Kupferman, N.Y. (13); MacGregor, Minn. (13); Schwengel, Iowa (13).

The ACU also noted that 13 House Republicans had a perfect record of party support on all 28 of the key DMV rollcalls during the second session of the 90th Congress. The GOP members who qualified by voting with a majority of their fellow Republicans were: Representatives Burke (Fla.); Clancy (Ohio); Del Clawson (Calif.); Goodling (Pa.); Gurney (Fla.); Lipscomb (Calif.); Martin (Nebr.); Reid (Ill.); Smith (Calif.); Utt (Calif.); Watkins (Pa.); Whalley (Pa.); and Zion (Ind.).

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Yost's Unnerving Views

Charles W. Yost, Nixon's pick to be ambassador to the United Nations, has previously been considered a sort of non-controversial career diplomat. But a statement made by Yost last year for consideration by the Democratic Platform Committee at Chicago has raised a number of eyebrows along Diplomatic Row.

Yost's statement, inserted into the September 10 *Congressional Record* by liberal Democratic Rep. Jonathan Bingham (N.Y.), is littered with advice for appeasing the Communists.

In his prepared text, Yost insisted the "chief threat to international and U.S. security is not, at least in the near future, Communist aggression" but the "arms race" and "uncontrolled turbulence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . ."

In trying to reverse the escalation of nuclear armaments, Yost advocated that the U.S. unilaterally begin "restricting major new programs" as we pursue arms control agreements with the Soviets.

Yost even turns a blind eye toward the Soviet invasion of another country, Czechoslovakia. That feat, Yost somehow surmised, was not aggression but "an internally defensive rather than an externally aggressive action." The pursuit of detente in Europe, in fact, should not be interrupted at all by such Soviet moves, he says, and one should now think about reducing U.S. troops in the NATO area.

Yost also called for a similar policy of appeasement in Southeast Asia. While LBJ claims to have received some concessions from the Reds for ending the

Ambassador-designate Yost and President-elect Nixon meet newsmen as the career diplomat's appointment was announced.

bombing in North Viet Nam, Yost advocated a unilateral bomb halt with no concessions from the Reds.

Nixon's new U.N. ambassador indicated, further, that he would extend a friendly hand to Red China. The United States, he stressed, "should make much more vigorous and meaningful efforts than in the past to bring Peking back into the international community. First of all, this means dropping our objections in the U.N. and in other international institutions and conferences."

These, of course, are Yost's private views and in his new role he will supposedly only be carrying out, not setting, Administration policy. Nevertheless, his appointment has not exactly been greeted with enthusiasm by those who had hoped the U.S. spokesman before the United Nations would be attuned to a hard-line foreign policy.

Before Yost is confirmed, in fact, a number of conservatives are hoping that members of the Foreign Relations Committee will find the time to ask him some pertinent questions about his views.

LBJ's Gift to Hanoi

A House Armed Services subcommittee has issued an alarming report in connection with the Administration's decision to stop the bombing of North Viet Nam on Nov. 1, 1968.

After hearing secret testimony from U.S. military commanders in Southeast Asia, the five-member Special Subcommittee on National Defense Posture revealed in early January that North Viet Nam had increased its southward flow of supplies by a "fivefold" margin since the bombing halt.

Ho Chi Minh's warriors, according to the subcommittee, appeared to be "establishing a massive logistic system which could be used as a foundation for future expanded operations." The unanimous report was signed by former Rep. Porter Hardy (D.-Va.), the subcommittee's chairman until he retired from Congress on January 2; Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D.-La.), Rep. Samuel S. Stratton (D.-N.Y.), former Rep. Charles A. Halleck (R.-Ind.) and Rep. William L. Dickinson (R.-Ala.).

The evidence, says the report, shows that the USSR and the Chicoms are supplying North Viet Nam with additional tons of "war-supporting materiel per month and that the North Vietnamese appear to be making maximum use of the bombing pause to improve their military position.

"Also, all major roads in North Viet Nam are now open and rail and water crossings leading to Laos and toward the DMZ are being repaired and expanded at a rapid rate." Traffic on major routes, the report continues, is now moving south on a "bumper-to-bumper basis. The level of supply far exceeds replenishment needs of troops and the civilian populace. . . . In Laos, the total observed vehicle activity for the first half of November nearly doubled that seen in the previous period."

The subcommittee members stress that the bombing halt is a calculated risk that negotiations will work. But if the talks fail, it is argued, the end to the northern bombing "will have provided the north with a new lease on life and the conflict will certainly be prolonged. The massive and unimpeded movement of supplies to the northern borders of South Viet Nam and the Cambodian sanctuary farther south will

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have solved major logistic problems for Hanoi."

Diplomatic experts say the report shows exactly how the bomb halt has strengthened Hanoi's hand at the negotiating table. After taking over, the Nixon Administration will find it all the more difficult to pressure Hanoi now that the Communists have received a new "lease on life," courtesy of the LBJ Administration.

• Despite the bleak outlook caused by the bomb halt, however, the subcommittee stresses that if the Paris talks fail the U.S. has "no alternative" but to begin "an all-out military effort to bring the war to a speedy conclusion."

Rostow's Second Thoughts

Walt W. Rostow, LBJ's chief White House adviser on foreign affairs, still seems to entertain belief in the myth that the Soviets are rapidly mellowing, but he is apparently bowing out of government a far wiser man than when he first entered the Kennedy Administration eight years ago. Indeed, some diplomats are stressing that Nixon could learn something from the former MIT professor.

ROSTOW

In a far-ranging interview in the New York *Times* last week, Rostow revealed a surprisingly hard-headed attitude about dealing with the Communists—the Asian Reds, at any rate. He acknowledged what military men have been saying all along: that the Kennedy Administration's major foreign policy error occurred when it refused to do anything while the Reds ripped up the 1962 Laotian agreement.

According to Rostow, the U.S. worked out a treaty which required all foreign troops, including Hanoi's, to get out of Laos and cease using that country as a transmission belt for troops to South Viet Nam.

"We had a side understanding with the Soviet Union," he related, "that they would take responsibility for keeping Hanoi out of Laos, but Khrushchev could not or would not implement that agreement.

"It was perhaps the greatest error of this period that we did not insist, toward the end of 1962, when the treaty came into effect and we knew Hanoi was not honoring it, that we should have made it an absolutely fundamental, diplomatic and military position that it be scrupulously honored."

When a breach in the agreement occurred, Rostow suggested, even military force might be used to make sure no breach occurred again.

Hopefully, Rostow argued, we will have another agreement regarding the war in Viet Nam. But "if there is one lesson I would draw not only from the period of these eight years, but from my experience in government since the end of the war, it is that we should insist when agreements are made that they be scrupulously honored."

The $350,000 Pardon

The biggest contributors to the Humphrey-Muskie campaign turn out to be a notorious onetime racketeer, John (Jake the Barber) Factor, and his wife.

Figures on file with the Clerk of the House disclose that the two Californians poured more than a third of a million dollars into the Democratic kitty. One hundred thousand dollars came in the form of a cash grant, another $250,000 was described as a "loan."

This was not the first time Jake the Barber played politics with his dough. Eight years ago he and his wife contributed $20,000 to the Kennedy-Johnson campaign.

Not long after, Factor just happened to receive a White House pardon for a 1943 conviction on mail fraud charges. The presidential action came just in time: only a week before, the Immigration and Naturalization Service had initiated deportation proceedings against him, proceedings which were quashed with the pardon.

Questioned last week about the $350,000 he chipped in to Humphrey's campaign, Factor explained: "The Democratic party is a good party, and I'm a Democrat."

The identities of other major contributors to the Humphrey-Muskie campaign are not known—and never will be, as Democratic party treasurer Robert Short acknowledged last week.

In a candid interview with the Washington *Post*'s Walter Pincus, Short admitted that at least $3 million in Democratic bills had been paid directly by individuals or "non-reporting committees" because "some of these people obviously don't want to be known."

The Federal Corrupt Practices Act requires national political committees to report the names of their contributors of $100 or more and all expenditures exceeding $10. But Short admitted frankly evading the law to conceal the identity of 20 fat cats who had contributed or "loaned" up to $250,000 to the Democratic campaign.

As for Factor, Short said he didn't know of his gangland background at the time he accepted his $350,000 contribution-loan. "But I would have taken it anyway," Short admitted.

Jackie's Mysterious Letter

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis has finally relinquished the $10,000-per-year widow's pension she has been receiving from the U.S. taxpayer these past years, but her renouncement of the stipend appears to be wrapped in a political mystery.

When the former First Lady—considered a wealthy woman in her own right—was married to multi-millionaire Aristotle Onassis on the Greek isle of Skorpios last October 20, she was still on the federal payroll for $833 monthly. Three days later Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), at the behest of a constituent, telephoned the Treasury Department to find out whether the new Mrs. Onassis was still on the dole. He was informed that Mrs. O. had definitely not asked to remove herself from the public payroll.

MRS. ONASSIS

Subsequent to the Gross inquiry, suddenly concerned Treasury officials attempted to ascertain whether a remarried President's widow was still eligible for the pension. At that point, a letter from Mrs. Onassis arrived requesting that her pension be stopped. (She will still, however, receive free postage privileges and her children are entitled to Secret Service protection until age 16.)

Curiously, however, she requested the termination date for her pension to be shown as October 1, nearly a month before she had written her letter. The Treasury Department, furthermore, has refused to release the text of the letter or even say when Mrs. Kennedy wrote it. "The text of her letter is sensitive," said a spokesman for the secretary of the treasury to one reporter. "I would like to hedge on the date [when she wrote it]."

The Treasury's attitude indicates the matter may be a political grenade and no Treasury bureaucrat, it is argued, feels free to cross a Kennedy now that Teddy is bidding for national power himself.

The hush-hush atmosphere surrounding the incident has suddenly piqued the interest of those who were formerly not interested in the matter in the least. And many in the Capitol are now wondering why in the world the Treasury Department is so insistent about its refusal to make Jackie's letter public.

Agnew's Latin American Assignment

One of Vice President-elect Spiro T. Agnew's major assignments in the Nixon Administration will be to whip up support in Latin America for a tougher policy toward Communist Cuba.

AGNEW

During the campaign Nixon hinted that he wanted to take stronger action against Fidel Castro since Cuba had "become the center for external aggression and the export of revolution to the Western Hemisphere under Castro's direct guidance."

Agnew, it is now revealed, will try to round up support in the Organization of American States (OAS) for tighter economic restrictions against the Cuban dictator.

Nixon confidants say that the President-elect has always felt the Eisenhower Administration bungled badly in Cuba and that he would like to rectify the mistake. He has now apparently entrusted his vice president—whose own foreign policy views are quite hawkish—with the important task of helping to stop Cuban aggression.

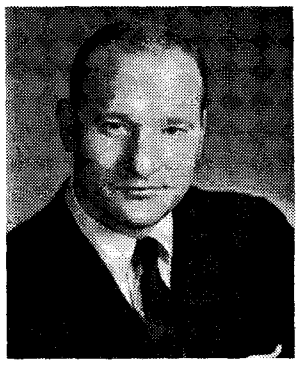
Liberals Attack Rule 22

Led by James B. Pearson (R.-Kans.) and Frank Church (D.-Idaho), liberal and moderate senators are waging a vigorous contest to change Senate Rule 22 which controls the manner in which a filibuster can be shut off.

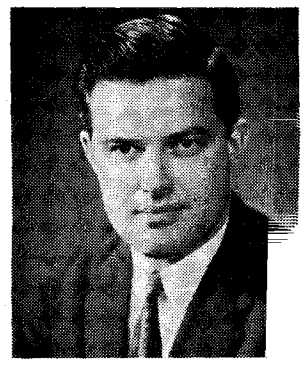
As last amended in 1959, the rule provides for ending debate after a cloture motion has been filed by at least 16 senators and two-thirds of the senators present and voting are in favor of terminating debate.

In an effort to weaken the current rule, both Pearson and Church, and at least 34 other senators, have endorsed a move which would cut off debate with only three-fifths of those present and voting.

Human Events urges its readers to write their senators to tell them to leave Rule 22 unchanged. The rule, it is pointed out, works fairly for both Democrats and Republicans. Secondly, many observers believe if the Pearson-Church change had been in effect in both 1965 and 1966, the filibuster that prevented repeal of Section 14b of Taft-Hartley—the right-to-work provision—might never have gotten off the ground.



PEARSON



CHURCH

The Senate's most vociferous liberals, of course, want to do away with the filibuster altogether, and they are lining up behind the Pearson-Church modification as a big step in that direction.

• *Tom Huston, former national chairman of the conservative youth organization Young Americans for Freedom, has been appointed by President-elect Nixon to be a White House aide Huston will serve in an advisory capacity on defense matters.*

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Will Congress End 'Community Action Programs'?

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The convening of the new Congress has brought to light an unpublished report that bodes ill for the already furiously controversial community action programs of the Johnson Administration's so-called "War on Poverty" —on which more than $8 billion has been spent since its launching in 1964.

Prepared by Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa), plain-talking member of the House Education and Labor Committee, the report charges flatly "community action programs have done more to impede the 'War on Poverty' than any other component."

Based on a detailed study of widespread scandals, corruption, violence, maladministration and numerous other outrages in community action programs in cities throughout the country, the Scherle report underlines the little-known fact that more money has been spent on CAP than any other aspect of the "War on Poverty."

The CAP budget for the current fiscal year is $540 million—as against $526 million last year. Since 1964, $2.45 billion has been expended for community action programs—more than one-fourth of the $8 billion voted for the entire anti-poverty project.

CAP does nothing directly to alleviate, eliminate or combat poverty.

Significantly, Rep. Scherle's unpublished findings are squarely in accord with those of former Assistant Labor Secretary Daniel Moynihan in a forthcoming book scathingly denouncing the handling of the anti-poverty program by the Johnson Administration.

This book and Scherle's report were prepared separately and independent of each other. Scherle's study was made last summer, and is only now surfacing.

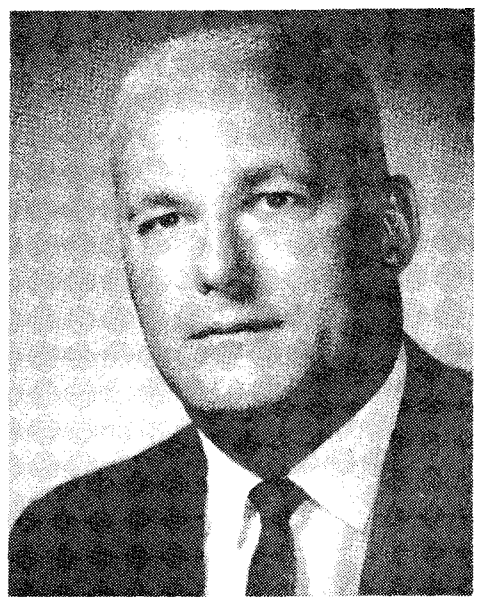
Moynihan, who will be President Nixon's special adviser on urban problems, was one of the chief authors of the anti-poverty program. In his book, he caustically assails CAP as ill-conceived and grossly mismanaged. Says Moynihan:

"The cry for community control took the form of denying the legitimacy of electoral representation that had developed over the years—indeed, the centuries —and which nominally did provide community control. Of a sudden, the city councilman was not enough, the state assemblyman not enough, the congressman not enough. . . . The institutions of representative government, imperfect as they may be, have the singular virtue of defining who speaks for the community in a certain set of circumstances."

Titled "Community Disruption," Rep. Scherle's report cites a number of detailed instances in which community action agencies engendered violence, alienation, malfunctioning and other costly and obstructive difficulties.

"Community action agency personnel have organized and directed confrontations and demonstrations against public officials," declares Scherle, "to a degree where tensions have mounted and complete community disruption has resulted. Too frequently these displays of hostility have been coincident with racial unrest and have polarized the Negro and white communities.

"The lack of coordination and cooperation between community action agencies on one hand and school officials, welfare agencies, housing authorities and representatives of private enterprise on the other, have brought about total alienation of these community leaders from anti-poverty programs. Community action leaders seem to have overlooked their responsibility to 'mobilize and utilize' resources, public and private, of a community in an attack on poverty. Rather, the contrary appears to be true.



Rep. Bill Scherle (R.-Iowa) notes that the CAPs have not only been wasteful, they have sparked the tinderbox of racial troubles.

"Community reaction to the abrasive aspects of community action has developed an atmosphere of conflict and bitterness. There is ample evidence that hostility and conflict exist between anti-poverty agencies on one hand and elected officials and community agencies on the other."

Among the cities cited by Scherle as glaring instances of this are the following:

Newark, N.J.—"Community action personnel organized and participated in demonstrations of protest against the mayor and the school board. At public meetings anti-poverty personnel made numerous inflammatory public speeches advocating violence. Anti-poverty workers distributed announcements of a police brutality rally to be held at a police station. Later that evening, anti-poverty workers launched a demonstration which was attended by several hundred demonstrators. The Newark riots started at this rally."

Houston, Tex.—"Mayor Louis Welch testified that he had complained to the Office of Economic Opportunity that anti-poverty workers were fomenting racial unrest. He said he received no answer from OEO for more than two months. A riot occurred on the campus of Texas Southern University in which one policeman was killed and two were wounded. Houston officials in a letter to OEO pointed out that anti-poverty workers agitated university crowds with incendiary and inflammatory statements, such as: 'When is your racist mayor going to wake up to the fact that this town is going to burn down?'. . . . The shooting by students at TSU was justified because the white man has been oppressing the Negro for 300 years and now it is the black man's turn.' "

Durham, N.C.—"Anti-poverty officials arranged and paid for buses to transport over 100 demonstrators to the city hall. Protest demonstrations followed and a disruptive situation ensued at a time of high tension during the Newark riots."

Nashville, Tenn.—"Police Capt. John A. Sorace testified that OEO funds had been issued to a 'liberation school' at which children were taught to 'hate whitey.' The school, operated by Fred Brooks, a 'Black Power' advocate and chairman of Nashville's Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, included an instructor, George W. Ware, who accompanied Stokely Carmichael to Cuba."

Syracuse, N.Y.—"City officials and established agency administrators were subjected to continuous harassment, picketing and abuse by anti-poverty workers. Mayor William Walsh stated, 'The poor have been over-promised and over-sold. The poverty program has been under-productive and under-achieving. The 'War on Poverty' served to polarize the white community. The theory of hostility and conflict, equally repugnant to most Negroes as well as whites, fanned the flames of racism and set back race relations a quarter of a century.' "

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—**HENRY HAZLITT,** Columnist

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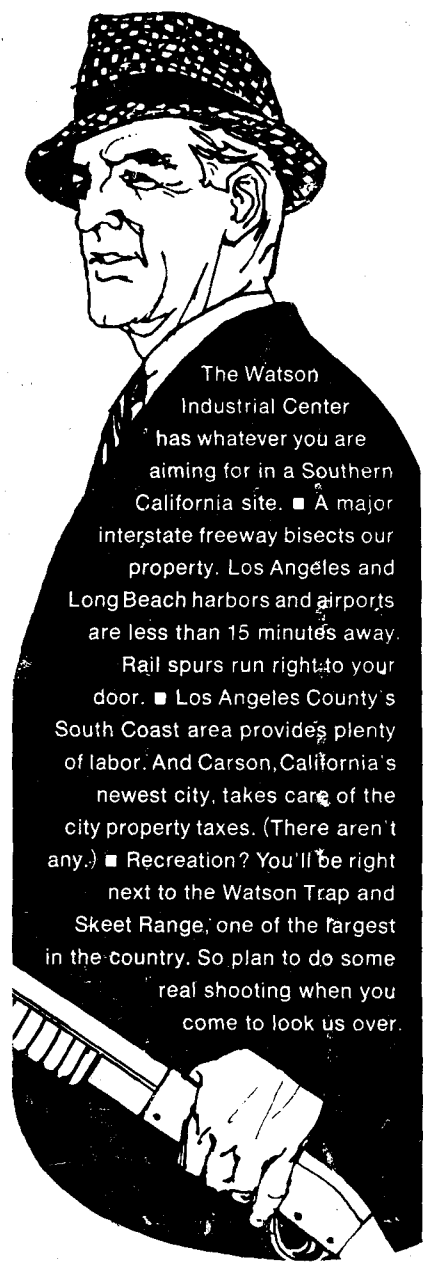

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How Communists Are Using Pueblo 'Apology'

Reprinted below is the front page of the December 25 issue of the *People's Korea*, a weekly propaganda organ for North Korea's Communist leadership published in Tokyo. This issue, dated two days following the *Pueblo* crew's release from a North Korean prison camp, shows the dramatic propaganda value the Red leaders of the "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" (DPRK) are making of the "confession" signed by the United States to obtain the crew's release.

Nor was this front-page propaganda display the end. On page two the lead headline read: "U.S. Imperialists Bend Knee Again Before Korean People," with the subhead "U.S. Government Admits Criminal Acts of Armed Spy Ship 'Pueblo' Against DPRK, Apologizes for Them; DPRK Government Expels 'Pueblo' Crew." And on page three appears a purported "letter of gratitude" from the crewmen to their Communist captors, beginning "We express heartfelt thanks to government and people of DPRK for leniently forgiving us who committed criminal acts against Korean people."

Nowhere in the six pages of the December 25 issue of *People's Korea* is there mention of the repudiation of the confession made by U.S. representative Maj. Gen. Gilbert Woodward, who, before he signed the document, declared that what he was about to sign was absolutely false. At the time of this repudiation-confession, Secretary of State Dean Rusk had described it, with admirable understatement, as a "unique diplomatic procedure."

Other U.S. observers, including many conservatives, however, urged caution

Outgoing Secretary of State Dean Rusk described the Pueblo release as a "unique diplomatic procedure."

and were openly skeptical of the "unique procedure." While not denying the good fortune of the *Pueblo* crew in having its 11-month ordeal finally ended, these skeptics argued that North Korea obviously had something in mind before agreeing to Gen. Woodward's repudiation of the confession.

In last week's *Human Events*, for example, correspondent Roy Colby predicted North Korea would play up the U.S. confession while either ignoring or describing as a "face-saving gesture" the prior repudiation.

And although the United States may widely publicize its own version of the repudiation-confession *pas de deux*, wrote Colby, "Which will world opinion accept? Which will the captive peoples behind the curtains of Socialist censorship believe? And which the peoples in the so-called neutralist countries of Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East who have been conditioned to hate and mistrust the United States?"

The accompanying Communist propaganda piece aptly demonstrates Colby's point. And no matter how strongly the United States affirms its own version of the crew's release, or how frequently it provides a forum for the released crewmen and Pueblo commander Lloyd Bucher to relate the grisly details of their imprisonment, it will be battling the well-honed, experienced propaganda pens of Communists around the world.

This is why many responsible Americans, including Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), who intends to conduct a congressional hearing into the *Pueblo* affair, are echoing the words of the Birmingham (Ala.) *News* editorialist who wrote:

"Let no one attempt to paint the release of the crewmen as a great diplomatic victory for this country. From start to end, the *Pueblo* incident is something Americans would like to forget. But they can't."

The People's Korea

No. 409 EVERY WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1968 (1951年3月22日第三種郵便物認可) ★ Price 15 yen (5 cents)

U.S. Gov't Apologizes to DPRK Gov't

Representative of U.S. Government Signs Document of Apology

Korean Central News Agency Report

PYONGYANG, Dec. 23 (KCNA)—The Korean Central News Agency was authorized to report as follows:

At the repeated requests of the U.S. imperialists, a meeting has been held in Panmunjom many a time so far between the representative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the representative of the U.S. Government to discuss the question of the crew of the armed spy ship "Pueblo."

After their armed spy ship "Pueblo" was seized on Jan. 23 last on the very scene of crime by the self-defence measures of the Korean People's Army, while conducting espionage and hostile acts after intruding into the territorial waters of our country, the U.S. imperialists resorted to every conceivable shameless machination to cover up the criminal acts of the crew of the "Pueblo" and shirk the responsibility for them.

But, finding it impossible to conceal with anything the crimes committed by the crew of the "Pueblo" and evade the responsibility for them, Maj. Gen. of U.S. Army Gilbert H. Woodward signed the following document of apology on behalf of the U.S. Government at the meeting held in Panmunjom on Dec. 23 and submitted it to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

"The Government of the United States of America, acknowledging the validity of the confessions of the crew of the USS Pueblo and of the documents of evidence produced by the representative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that the ship, which was seized by the self-defence measures of the naval vessels of the Korean People's Army in the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Jan. 23, 1968, had illegally intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on many occasions and conducted espionage activities of spying out important military and state secrets of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the U.S. ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after having intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

And gives firm assurance that no U.S. ships will intrude again in future into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Government of the United States of America earnestly requests the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to deal leniently with the former crew members of the USS Pueblo confiscated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side, taking into consideration the fact that these crew members have confessed honestly to their crimes, and petitioned the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for leniency."

Taking into consideration the confessions and petition of the crew of the "Pueblo" and relevant apology and assurance of the U.S. Government, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea decided to expel the crew of the "Pueblo" from the northern half of the Republic. According to this measure the entire former crewmen of the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship "Pueblo" were expelled from the northern half of the Republic through Panmunjom at 11:30 on Dec. 23, 1968.

Dec. 23, 1968.

Stat't of DPRK Foreign Office Spokesman

PYONGYANG, Dec. 23 (KCNA)—Follows the full text of the statement of the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

The U.S. imperialists, who had made a persistent attempt to cover up the criminal acts of the crew of the armed spy ship "Pueblo" but found it impossible to shirk the responsibility any longer, were forced to apologize to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for their crime on Dec. 23.

It is only natural for the U.S. imperialist aggressors to apologize for the criminal acts of sending the armed spy ship to intrude into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and conduct espionage and hostile activities, and they should have done so long ago.

As is already exposed thoroughly to the world, the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship "Pueblo" captured by the self-defence measures of the Korean People's Army on Jan.23 last, had intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as many as 17 occasions and spied on important military and state secrets of our country and committed hostile acts.

This brigandish piracy which flagrantly encroached upon the sovereignty of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was a link in the whole chain of the premeditated manoeuvring of the U.S. imperialists to unleash another war in Korea.

The capture of the armed spy ship "Pueblo" was the legitimate exercise of the sovereignty by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the due punishment upon the aggressors.

When the "Pueblo" was captured in the territorial waters of our country, the U.S. imperialists revealed their aggressive nature more plainly.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors, while taking war posture and aggravating tension to the extreme by concentrating large numbers of their ground, naval and air forces in the coastal waters of our country and South Korea in their ridiculous attempt to "threaten" some one, manoeuvred desperately to camouflage the criminal acts of the "Pueblo" and to mislead world public opinion.

The U.S. imperialists were brazen enough to clamour that the armed spy ship "Pueblo" was "on high seas" and "did not commit any criminal acts" at the time of its capture. Until the very last moment of their signing the document whereby they admit and apologize for the criminal fact that the "Pueblo" had perpetrated the espionage and hostile activities after intruding into the territorial waters of our country, they persisted in their attempt to escape their responsibility, repeating such preposterous allegations.

However, unable to find any more excuse and dodge the responsibility for having organized such crimes in front of the confessions by the crew and various material data testifying to the criminal acts of the "Pueblo," the U.S. Government signed and submitted to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the document which solemnly apologizes for the fact that the armed spy ship "Pueblo" intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for many times and perpetrated the espionage and hostile activities and firmly assures that no U.S. ships will intrude again into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the future, earnestly requesting the lenient dealing with the crew.

This means the ignominious defeat of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and constitutes another great victory for the Korean people who have crushed the "myth" about the "mightiness" of U.S. imperialism into smithereens.

The crew of the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship "Pueblo" should be duly punished in accordance with the law of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as criminals caught in the very act of espionage.

But taking into consideration the fact that they confessed frankly to their criminal acts and repeatedly asked for lenient forgiveness and that the U.S. Government gave its apology and assurance, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has decided to expel the crew from the northern half of the Republic.

The U.S. imperialist armed spy ship "Pueblo" and all the equipment and weapons installed on board of it were confiscated by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea simultaneously with the capture as they were means of aggression and crime used in intruding into the territorial waters of our country and carrying out espionage and hostile acts.

The incident of the armed spy ship "Pueblo" which roused a unanimous indignation of all the peace-loving countries and the progressive peoples of the world will be recorded forever in the shameful U.S. imperialist history of aggression, and the U.S. imperialists will never erase this stern fact by whatever means.

The U.S. imperialist aggressors should draw due lessons from the shame and defeat they have suffered

(Continued on page 2)

A document whereby the U.S. Government solemnly apologized to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people

Woodward, representative of the U.S. Government, signing the document whereby the U.S. Government solemnly apologized to the Government of the DPRK and the Korean people admitting the piratic espionage and hostile acts committed by the U.S. imperialist armed spy ship "Pueblo"

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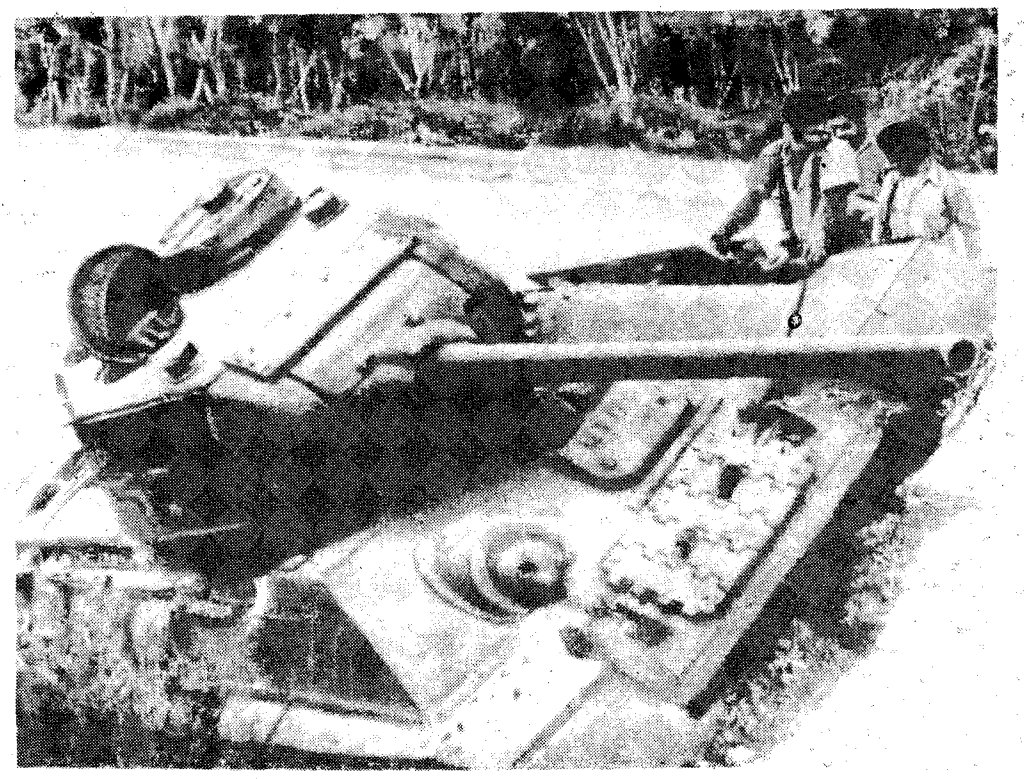
Can Nixon Save the Game in Cuba?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Miami:—The Cubans in Miami, as of the moment of writing, profess to be completely in the dark about Richard Nixon's Latin American policy. The chances are that Cuba, for a time at least, must remain on the new Administration's back burner. Viet Nam comes first; our NATO relations come second. But this doesn't mean that Latin America can be left to stew in its own juices forever.

Our troubles in our own hemisphere—and they remain deep—are certainly not of Nixon's own choosing, even though the Eisenhower-Nixon government conveniently looked the other way while Fidel Castro was taking over in Cuba a decade ago.

If Nixon had been elected in 1960, the initial mistake of letting Castro come to power might have been rectified. The Bay of Pigs invasion would certainly have turned out differently with Nixon in the White House, for he shared Eisenhower's opinions about going through with military commitments once they were in the works.



This heavy tank was among the exile casualties during the Bay of Pigs affair.

As quoted by Earl Mazo, Eisenhower said, apropos of CIA commitment to helping exiled Cuban democrats regain their homeland, "Force is a naked, brutal thing in this world. If you are going to use it, you have got to be prepared to go all the way. . . . If our hand had been discovered, then it was more important than ever that we win."

If the Free Cubans had made their invasion stick at the Bay of Pigs, world history would surely have taken a radically different turn. There would have been no missile crisis of 1962. The story of President de Gaulle's relations with NATO would have taken a different course. De Gaulle lost faith in the U.S. in the early 1960s because we seemed to lack the will to support the Monroe Doctrine on which our hemispheric policy had rested for more than a century. A nation that couldn't take care of its own back yard could hardly be relied on for the common defense of Europe. If de Gaulle had trusted NATO, it is conceivable that he might have acted differently on Britain's application to join the Common Market. A successful outcome at the Bay of Pigs would have guaranteed a strong and resourceful West. There might even have been no Viet Nam.

Alas, this is now the stuff of dreams, a chapter for some new edition of a fascinating book published in the 1930s called "If, Or History Rewritten." Even our relatively strong reaction to the missile crisis hasn't prevented the Communists from creating Red Fortress Cuba 90 miles from Florida.

Ten years have passed, and a whole generation of Cuban children has been indoctrinated in the Castro version of Marxism-Leninism. Worst of all, the Cuban rot has spread to the United States, where "Che" Guevara has become a hero to campus leftists.

Despite our ban on travel to Cuba, the comings and goings of the New Left between the U.S. and Havana continue. When Moscow financed a cultural conference last year in Havana, the Castroite newspaper *Granma* identified several U.S. visitors. Dave Dellinger, one of the organizers of the Chicago "confrontation" last August, was among those present. Paul Bethel, the indefatigable editor of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba's Latin American Report, gives us the information that Mark Rudd visited Cuba just before the celebrated "guerrilla uprising" at Columbia University last spring. He also says that more than 40 Black Panthers and SDS members spent part of last summer in Cuba absorbing Che Guevara's theories of guerrilla warfare, with modifications deemed appropriate to U.S. urban conditions. [See *Human Events*, June 29, 1968, page 8.]

The "Prime Minister" of the Black Panthers, Stokely Carmichael, spent part of 1968 in Cuba, where, according to Free Cubans, he conferred with leading Castroites and addressed some 200 American Negroes who are being trained for disruption in the ghettos. The "Minister of Education" of the Black Panthers, George Murray, has also visited Cuba. As quoted in the Los Angeles *Times*, Murray has told California students, "If students want to run a college—if the administration won't go for it—then you control it with a gun."

This sort of incendiarism would hardly have spread so rapidly in the U.S. if the Bay of Pigs had turned out differently. Nixon is faced with a condition not of his own making as he goes back to Washington after eight years. The Cubans in Miami are waiting to see just what he intends to do about retrieving a most difficult situation.

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New Year's Present: $748.80 Tax

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Beginning with your first 1969 paycheck, you will have a bigger tax deducted. It will be for Social Security-Medicare.

The tax will be levied on the first $7,800 of your earnings. You will have to pay 4.8 per cent of what you make. Your employer will have to match it, meaning, of course, that this is an added payroll cost for him and thus leaves that much less available to be paid to you.

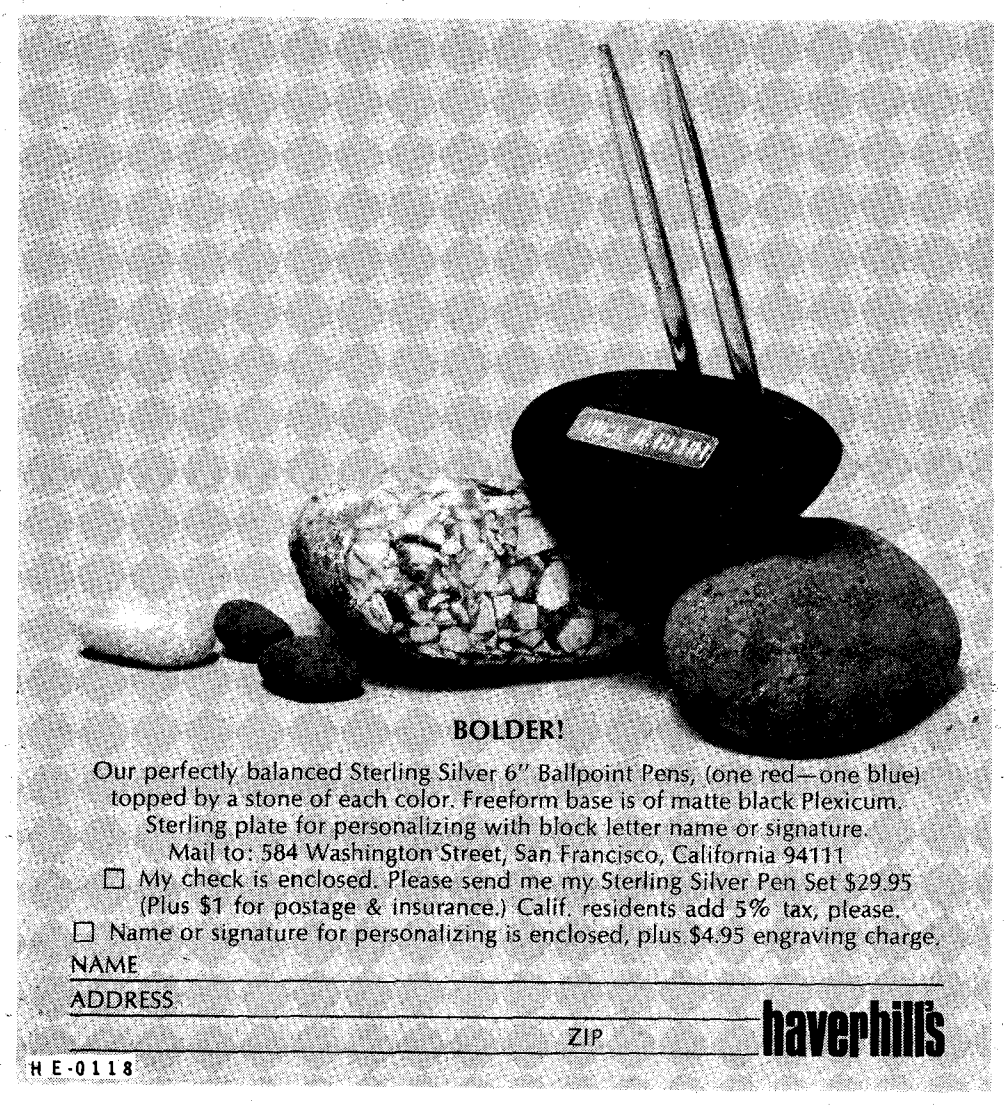
The tax will be $374.40 from each employe and $374.40 from the employer to equal it—a total of $748.80. (It has been $290.40 each for employe and employer.) There will be no exemptions or deductions such as may be taken before figuring your income tax. In fact, you will pay income tax on the Social Security-Medicare tax that is deducted from your check before you see it.

Nor is this the end. Already, law provides for this tax to step up over the years to 5.9 per cent for each employe and the same for the employer by 1987. That means the total tax projected for that year will be $1,232.40 per employe.

But if that figure staggers you, hold on. Already there is talk of new increases and expansions in both Social Security and Medicare, which would require even higher taxation, perhaps on a larger portion of your income.

With 9.6 per cent being taken in 1969 (employe-employer together) and 11.8 per cent being projected for 1987, by the time 1987 rolls around or before, it is possible as much as 20 per cent of your income may be taken for these purposes alone—with your income tax and state and local taxes on top of it all.

These things need to be remembered when there are demands for additional "benefits." They are really demands for additional taxes. Nothing can come out without being paid in.



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The Congressional District Plan

A Workable Plan for Electoral College Reform

By SEN. KARL MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

The 91st Congress has before it many controversial proposals. None could have a greater impact than a change in the Electoral College system. The Senate and the House could set in motion a chain of circumstances that could end up with either an enlightened and realistic method of selecting our President or one which obliterates state jurisdictions, nationalizes our elections, repudiates a promise of nearly 200 years and destroys our two-party system of government.

The possibility is staggering but the potential is true. The American people want a change in the present Electoral College. Furthermore, a change is needed. Reform of the College is long overdue. The present method of electing our two top executive officers is woefully inadequate, patently unfair, and at times, exasperatingly uncertain.

The irony is that this has been true for many years. Historically, it is possible to trace the desire for change to the period almost immediately following the election of George Washington as the first President. Congressional reform movements have flourished ever since.

In recent years the demand for reform has been pushed in many quarters. This was particularly true following the 1948 election and the narrow victory of John F. Kennedy in 1960. In neither instance, however, were the reform proponents successful, nor did they receive the press build-up we are experiencing today, proving once again that it is a matter of "whose ox is gored."

The necessity for reform stems not from the fact that the system was ill-founded. The concept of independent electors selecting the President was perhaps sound in 1787. Our Founding Fathers, in the Constitutional Convention, certainly gave long and careful consideration to the method of electing the President.

At first it decided he should be elected by the Congress. Then it changed its collective mind and transferred the power of choice to an Electoral College that was to be an exact counterpart of the Congress with the representation of the states as units, corresponding to the senators, as well as population of the states, corresponding to representatives, and which should meet at the seat of government.

Upon further consideration this plan was dropped because of the fear that the electors would not travel so far for a single purpose. It took days in those times to cover distances that we now span in a few hours. The convention went back to its original idea that a President should be elected by a joint session of Congress. They did this with reluctance because it ran counter to their strong beliefs in the principle of separation of powers of the executive and legislative branches of the new government.

At this point the idea developed that the electors could meet and cast their votes in their own states and transmit the certificates of their ballots to the seat of government.

Accordingly, the work of electing the President was divided. The convention transferred the act of voting from a joint session of Congress to electoral colleges in the several states, the results to be transmitted to the president of the Senate. It left with Congress, in joint session, the function of counting the certified results from the states, as would have been the case had Congress done the voting.

Unfortunately no uniform method of choosing electors was followed. Electors were chosen in a variety of ways: election by legislatures, election by the people in districts and election by the people on a general ticket, which means that each voter in the state could vote for every one of the state's electors. In Massachusetts each of the eight districts chose two electors from which the legislature selected one per district and added two electors at large.

It was at this point that the political party system emerged and moved into the vacuum created by that phrase in the Constitution which states that electors shall be appointed "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct."

After George Washington's two elections, the presidency was contested every four years on a party basis as it is today. The majority party in each state was quick to see the advantage of consolidating its electoral strength either through legislature selection or through use of the general ticket system forcing every electoral vote in the state to go one way or the other so as to exert maximum influence in electing a President. Federalists did this where they were in control, in the New England states for example, and the anti-Federalists, later Jeffersonian Republicans, soon did the same thing in their states.

Thus, an election procedure, conceived in a philosophical-political atmosphere, had been transformed by the development of political parties into a political-philosophical procedure more concerned with swinging a large controlled bloc of votes behind a particular candidate than anything else.

Sen. Mundt has long been a student of American election procedures.

The "winner-take-all" development has resulted in the major defect in the present electoral system, the disproportionate power that some areas operating under the general ticket system have in selecting the President.

As it stands now, a presidential candidate winning a state by a small margin takes all of that state's electoral votes. The result has been a concentration of presidential campaigns in the large cities of key, pivotal states. Such concentrated campaigns can control the outcome of our nationwide elections, even though they may represent the minority view in the nation as a whole.

Of the 270 electoral votes necessary for election, 267 are controlled by only 11 states. Basically, however, the real power base is in the major metropolitan center or centers in each of these states —New York City, Chicago, Detroit, etc. If the rest of New York State divides relatively evenly, a heavy vote for one candidate in New York City can carry the entire state's 42 electoral votes into the camp of that candidate. This in effect makes captive votes out of the remainder of the state's voters.

The dangers in such a system are obvious. The invitation to vote fraud is inescapable. By the same token, disproportionate campaign contributions and expenditures gravitate to these areas. It excludes from the office of President all men, no matter how able and outstanding they may be, unless they come from a state with a large bloc of electoral votes. The exceptions to the rule have been either vice presidents succeeding because of the death of the President or candidates with a large national following as a result of their exploits in other areas, such as President Eisenhower.

There are other drawbacks to the present system, although the general ticket "winner take all" is unquestionably the worst.

Electors are not bound to vote for the popular vote winner. This has not happened as often as many people believe, only nine times since 1820. Two of these errant votes, however, have been cast in the last eight years. If it were one time or one hundred times, nevertheless, the principle remains the same and should be prohibited by a constitutional amendment so that it will not occur again.

Finally, there is a definite inequity in the event of contingent elections. Under the existing provision of the Constitution, if no candidate receives a majority of the electoral vote, the contest goes to the House of Representatives. That body, however, votes by state and not by head. Each state must decide within itself and then cast a single vote. If the members of a state delegation deadlock, the state cannot vote at all.

Pinpointing those areas that need changing is only half the problem. Making the correct change is just as important. A step backwards or sidewards is after all no progress and it could be retrogressive.

Three major alternatives have been proposed. The first and most feasible is the district plan. The others are the proportional system and the direct vote plan; the latter being the equivalent of killing a fly with a shotgun.

The District Plan

The District Plan, as encompassed in Senate Joint Resolution 12, which I have introduced along with several other senators from both parties and from all sections of the country, is relatively simple and yet strikes immediately at the critical problems.

Under this proposed constitutional amendment, each state, as now, would be entitled to a certain number of electoral votes depending on how many congressmen the state is alloted plus two electoral votes for its two senators. The state, however, would be divided into districts comparable to congressional districts (or at the proper time utilizing the existing congressional districts themselves).

The presidential ticket receiving the most popular votes in each district would receive one vote and the ticket obtaining the most popular votes statewide would receive two electoral votes. Thus each voter in the United States would, in effect, have the same voting power and the right to vote for three electors—no more, no less, regardless of where a voter may live. These electors (or simply unit votes in some variations of the plan) would be bound to cast their votes for the state's winning presidential ticket.

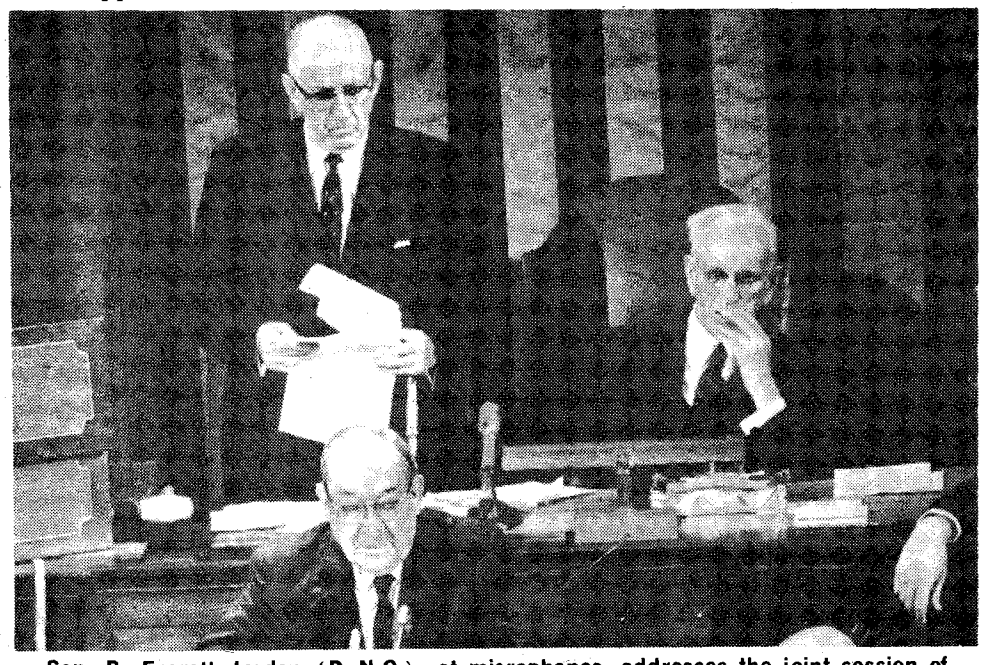
Viewed against the background of the defects in the present system, it is readily apparent that this proposal is a "problem solver."

As I have indicated, the major fault with what we have now is the general ticket system. And let me make it clear that this is not a phantom danger.

In the last election, the possibility of a deadlock in the Electoral College received most of the publicity and few people realized how close we came to having a minority President selected by the machines of big-city politics. The fact remains, however, that the shift of a few thousand votes in only three states—California, Illinois and New Jersey—would have changed the outcome in the Electoral College while leaving the popular vote decision the same.

Under the District Plan, this potential is diminished almost to the point where

(*Continued on page 14*)



Sen. B. Everett Jordan (D.-N.C.), at microphones, addresses the joint session of Congress during the counting of the 1968 electoral vote. Behind him is Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.), the new president pro tem of the Senate, and House Speaker John McCormack.

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Roster of the 91st Congress

On this and the following page, we have listed the members of the new 91st Congress along with some timely hints on how to make letter-writing count. In the Senate listing, an asterisk (*) indicates that member's seat will be up for election in 1970. Republicans are listed in capital letters; on the House list on the next page, members are listed by district numbers. The Senate now numbers 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans. The House now has 243 Democrats to 192 Republicans. Two GOP vacancies will be created with the elevation of Reps. Melvin Laird and Ed Reinecke to higher office after the inauguration next week. Readers can simply clip this page for future reference.

United States Senate

Alabama
James B. Allen
John Sparkman

Alaska
Mike Gravel
THEODORE F. STEVENS*

Arizona
BARRY M. GOLDWATER
PAUL J. FANNIN*

Arkansas
J. William Fulbright
John L. McClellan

California
Alan M. Cranston
GEORGE L. MURPHY*

Colorado
PETER H. DOMINICK
GORDON L. ALLOTT

Connecticut
Abraham Ribicoff
Thomas J. Dodd*

Delaware
J. CALEB BOGGS
JOHN J. WILLIAMS*

Florida
EDWARD J. GURNEY
Spessard L. Holland*

Georgia
Herman E. Talmadge
Richard B. Russell

Hawaii
HIRAM L. FONG*
Daniel K. Inouye

Idaho
Frank Church
LEN B. JORDAN

Illinois
EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
CHARLES H. PERCY

Indiana
Birch Bayh
Vance Hartke*

Iowa
Harold E. Hughes
JACK MILLER

Kansas
ROBERT J. DOLE
JAMES B. PEARSON

Kentucky
MARLOW W. COOK
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

Louisiana
Russell B. Long
Allen J. Ellender

Maine
MARGARET CHASE SMITH
Edmund S. Muskie*

Maryland
CHARLES M. MATHIAS
Joseph D. Tydings*

Massachusetts
EDWARD W. BROOKE
Edward M. Kennedy*

Michigan
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN
Philip A. Hart*

Minnesota
Walter F. Mondale
Eugene J. McCarthy*

Mississippi
James O. Eastland
John C. Stennis*

Missouri
Thomas F. Eagleton
Stuart Symington*

Montana
Lee Metcalf
Mike Mansfield*

Nebraska
CARL T. CURTIS
ROMAN L. HRUSKA*

Nevada
Alan Bible
Howard W. Cannon*

New Hampshire
NORRIS COTTON
Thomas J. McIntyre

New Jersey
CLIFFORD P. CASE
Harrison Williams Jr.*

New Mexico
Clinton P. Anderson
Joseph M. Montoya*

New York
JACOB K. JAVITS
CHARLES E. GOODELL*

North Carolina
Sam J. Ervin Jr.
B. Everett Jordan

North Dakota
MILTON R. YOUNG
Quentin N. Burdick*

Ohio
WILLIAM B. SAXBE
Stephen M. Young*

Oklahoma
HENRY BELLMON
Fred R. Harris

Oregon
ROBERT W. PACKWOOD
MARK O. HATFIELD

Pennsylvania
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER
HUGH SCOTT*

Rhode Island
Claiborne Pell
John O. Pastore*

South Carolina
Ernest F. Hollings
STROM THURMOND

South Dakota
George McGovern
KARL E. MUNDT

Tennessee
HOWARD H. BAKER JR.
Albert Gore*

Texas
JOHN G. TOWER
Ralph Yarborough*

Utah
WALLACE F. BENNETT
Frank E. Moss*

Vermont
GEORGE D. AIKEN
WINSTON L. PROUTY*

Virginia
William B. Spong Jr.
Harry F. Byrd Jr.*

Washington
Warren G. Magnuson
Henry M. Jackson*

West Virginia
Jennings Randolph
Robert C. Byrd*

Wisconsin
Gaylord Nelson
William Proxmire*

Wyoming
CLIFFORD P. HANSEN
Gale W. McGee*

How to Write More Effective Letters

To Your Congressman . . .

Many people think any letter to Washington is just a waste of time, but nothing could be further from the truth. Congressmen pay attention to their mail. They have to, because the writers' views form a major listening post for voter sentiment on pending legislation.

Who reads them? A surprising amount of the letters to congressional offices are read carefully by the congressmen themselves. Those that aren't are handled by key staff personnel who notify their bosses of the contents.

Form letters and petitions: Form letters with identical wording, long telegrams signed by lists of people, mimeographed petitions and other "bulk" entreaties carry little or no weight in Washington. The legislators know from experience that sudden outpourings, with suspicious similarity, are largely from disinterested persons who were goaded into signing a form letter or petition by some lobbyist or political action group.

Be yourself and write your own letter. It is the carefully thought-out, individual letter that a lawmaker appreciates. Write to your Senator or Representative just as you would write to anyone else. The influence of your communication depends upon the point you make and the clarity with which you make it. Set forth exactly why you consider a bill good or bad, how you feel that it would affect you and your community.

Courtesy always: Threats, warnings, and abuse merely antagonize Congressmen. Effective mail is courteous and the Congressman is well aware, without reminding him in a letter, that he may be your "second favorite" candidate in the next election if he lets you down. Nor does he need to be wooed with a promise of "all-out" support at the polls if he votes the "right way." If you or your organization can muster votes at election time, he knows that, too. If you are pleased with the Congressman's position on a bill or with his vote, write to thank and compliment him on his stand. This is important. Letters to a congressman for a job well done are altogether too rare.

Follow through: Almost all Congressmen answer their mail, but if your reply is just a brief acknowledgement, write again to ask for more specific information, e.g., precisely how he stands on the issue, how he feels toward its success, and if he proposes to support or oppose it. It is highly unlikely that he will ignore your second "follow-up" request, and he will appreciate your proven interest in the bill. In short, persistence pays.

Timing: Another important factor is when you send your letter. A deluge of mail just as a measure is about to be voted on is much less effective than a single intelligent letter months before while the legislator is still formulating his opinions. When the bill is introduced, send a copy of your letter (or a separate one) to the chairman of the committee to which it was referred. Sometimes a bill may never get out of committee for a floor vote. When possible, always refer to the bill under discussion by its name and number.

Address your letters:

Senators: The Honorable John S. Doe
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510 (Dear Senator Doe)

Representatives: The Honorable James K. Roe
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515 (Dear Mr. Roe)

To Your Editor . . .

When you write to a newspaper or other publication, KEEP IT. . . . .

Brief: Most letters should be no more than 200 or 300 words, as space is limited. You will be sharing the "Letters to the Editor" column with other correspondents on a variety of subjects. Most likely, your letter will be triggered by a recent news story or editorial, and it is not necessary to restate the entire premise before launching your views. Of course, limit the subject of your letter to just one topic, news story, or editorial; make your points quickly and cogently.

Pointed: If you don't have well-developed, firm opinions on an issue, don't bother to write. Both editors and their readers enjoy and react to a letter that has fact, feeling, and direction. Unless you have something positive to suggest or correct, something informative and useful for the readers, your letter will accomplish little. Be direct, to the point, and *above all, be sure of your facts.*

Timely: First impressions are the strongest, and so is the first impact of the news. Particularly, if the original news story is erroneous or misleading, corrections should be made immediately because readers are apt to "digest" fallacy if the facts come too late. How often have you heard, "Of course it's true, I read it in the paper just this morning"? Editors give priority to letters commenting on a story while it is still news; next week may be too late. Write your letter the same day you read or hear the editorial or news story.

Conciliatory: Even though a news story or editorial may malign one of your pet programs or seem unduly opinionated, do not respond with a sarcastic combative letter. Emotionally charged letters get high readership but at the expense of the writer's embarrassment when he sees his hot temper in cold print. If the editorial writer or reporter has been unreasonably critical, point out his errors as factually and politely as possible, correct or amend them, and extend the offer of your services or more information if desired. Above all, you can't intimidate an editor by threatening to cancel your subscription; torrid letters only help increase his circulation. On the other hand, don't feel that an untruth is too gross to be dignified by an answer; silence is sometimes the severest indictment, and an unchallanged fallacy always carries more weight with those who wish to believe it.

Identified: Always sign your letter with your full name and address; also your professional title if it is pertinent to the subject. Anonymous letters lack courage and conviction, and editors seldom print them. Letters with pseudonyms are usually discarded becauses editors check on the authenticity of both content and correspondent; however, your name may be withheld upon request if circumstances warrant, but these occasions are rare. Do not ask the editor to reply to your letter or to return your manuscript.

Address your letter:

Letters to the Editor
Name of Newspaper or Magazine
City State (Dear Sir:)
or
Mr. John S. Doe
Managing Editor
Name of Magazine
Address (Dear Mr. Doe:)

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Roster of Congress continued from page 9

House of Representatives

Alabama
1 JACK EDWARDS
2 *WILLIAM L. DICKINSON*
3 George Andrews
4 Bill Nichols
5 Walter W. Flowers Jr.
6 JOHN H. BUCHANAN
7 Tom Bevill
8 Bob Jones

Alaska
AL *HOWARD W. POLLOCK*

Arizona
1 JOHN J. RHODES
2 Morris K. Udall
3 SAM STEIGER

Arkansas
1 Bill Alexander
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 *JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT*
4 David Pryor

California
1 DON H. CLAUSEN
2 Harold T. Johnson
3 John E. Moss
4 Robert L. Leggett
5 Phillip Burton
6 WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD
7 Jeffery Cohelan
8 George P. Miller
9 Don Edwards
10 CHARLES S. GUBSER
11 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY
12 BURT L. TALCOTT
13 CHARLES M. TEAGUE
14 Jerome R. Waldie
15 *John J. McFall*
16 B. F. Sisk
17 Glenn M. Anderson
18 ROBERT B. MATHIAS
19 Chet Holifield
20 H. ALLEN SMITH
21 Augustus F. Hawkins
22 James C. Corman
23 *DEL CLAWSON*
24 GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB
25 CHARLES E. WIGGINS
26 Thomas M. Rees
27 ED REINECKE
28 ALPHONZO BELL
29 George E. Brown Jr.
30 Edward R. Roybal
31 Charles H. Wilson
32 CRAIG HOSMER
33 JERRY L. PETTIS
34 Richard T. Hanna
35 JAMES B. UTT
36 BOB WILSON
37 Lionel Van Deerlin
38 John V. Tunney

Colorado
1 Byron Rogers
2 DONALD G. BROTZMAN
3 Frank Evans
4 Wayne N. Aspinall

Connecticutt
1 Emilio Q. Daddario
2 William L. St. Onge
3 *Robert Giaimo*
4 LOWELL P. WEICKER
5 John S. Monagan
6 THOMAS J. MESKILL

Delaware
AL WILLIAM V. ROTH

Florida
1 Robert L. F. Sikes
2 Don Fuqua
3 Charles E. Bennett
4 Bill Chappell Jr.
5 LOUIS FREY JR.
6 Sam M. Gibbons
7 James A. Haley
8 WILLIAM C. CRAMER
9 Paul G. Rogers
10 *J. HERBERT BURKE*
11 Claude Pepper
12 Dante B. Fascell

Georgia
1 G. Elliott Hagan
2 Maston O'Neal
3 Jack Brinkley
4 BEN B. BLACKBURN
5 *FLETCHER THOMPSON*
6 John J. Flynt Jr.
7 John W. Davis
8 W. S. Stuckey Jr.
9 Phillip M. Landrum
10 Robert G. Stephens Jr.

Hawaii
AL Patsy T. Mink
AL Spark Matsunaga

Idaho
1 JAMES A. McCLURE
2 ORVAL HANSEN

Illinois
1 William L. Dawson
2 Abner J. Mikva
3 *William T. Murphy*
4 EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
5 John C. Kluczynski
6 Daniel J. Ronan
7 Frank Annunzio
8 Dan Rostenkowski
9 Sidney R. Yates
10 HAROLD R. COLLIER
11 Roman C. Pucinski
12 ROBERT McCLORY
13 DONALD RUMSFELD
14 JOHN N. ERLENBORN
15 CHARLOTTE T. REID
16 JOHN B. ANDERSON
17 LESLIE C. ARENDS
18 ROBERT H. *MICHEL*
19 TOM RAILSBACK
20 PAUL FINDLEY
21 Kenneth J. Gray
22 WILLIAM L. SPRINGER
23 George E. Shipley
24 Melvin Price

Indiana
1 Ray J. Madden
2 EARL F. LANDGREBE
3 John Brademas
4 E. ROSS ADAIR
5 RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
6 WILLIAM G. BRAY
7 JOHN T. MYERS
8 ROGER H. ZION
9 *Lee H. Hamilton*
10 DAVID W. DENNIS
11 Andrew Jacobs Jr.

Iowa
1 FRED SCHWENGEL
2 John C. Culver
3 H. R. GROSS
4 JOHN KYL
5 *Neal Smith*
6 WILEY MAYNE
7 WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

Kansas
1 KEITH G. SEBELIUS
2 CHESTER L. MIZE
3 LARRY WINN JR.
4 GARNER E. SHRIVER
5 JOE SKUBITZ

Kentucky
1 Frank A. Stubblefield
2 William H. Natcher
3 WILLIAM O. COWGER
4 M. GENE SNYDER
5 TIM LEE CARTER
6 John C.Watts
7 Carl D. Perkins

Louisiana
1 F. Edward Hebert
2 Hale Boggs
3 Patrick T. Caffery
4 Joe D. Waggonner Jr.
5 Otto E. Passman
6 John R. Rarick
7 Edwin W. Edwards
8 Speedy O. Long

Maine
1 Peter N. Kyros
2 William D. Hathaway

Maryland
1 ROGERS C. B. MORTON
2 Clarence D. Long
3 Edward A. Garmatz
4 George H. Fallon
5 LAWRENCE J. HOGAN
6 J. GLENN BEALL JR.
7 Samuel N. Friedel
8 GILBERT GUDE

Massachusetts
1 SILVIO O. CONTE
2 Edward P. Boland
3 Philip J. Philbin
4 Harold D. Donohue
5 F. BRADFORD MORSE
6 WILLIAM H. BATES
7 Torbert H. Macdonald
8 Thomas P. O'Neill
9 John W. McCormack
10 MARGARET M. HECKLER
11 James A. Burke
12 HASTINGS KEITH

Michigan
1 John Conyers Jr.
2 MARVIN L. ESCH
3 GARRY BROWN
4 EDWARD HUTCHINSON
5 GERALD R. FORD
6 CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN
7 DONALD W. RIEGLE JR.
8 JAMES HARVEY
9 GUY VANDER JAGT
10 ELFORD CEDERBERG
11 PHILLIP RUPPE
12 James G. O'Hara
13 Charles C. Diggs Jr.
14 Lucien N. Nedzi
15 William D. Ford
16 John D. Dingell
17 Martha W. Griffiths
18 WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
19 *JACK McDONALD*

Minnesota
1 ALBERT H. QUIE
2 ANCHER NELSEN
3 CLARK MACGREGOR
4 Joseph E. Karth
5 Donald M. Fraser
6 JOHN M. ZWACH
7 *ODIN LANGEN*
8 John A. Blatnik

Mississippi
1 Thomas G. Abernethy
2 Jamie L. Whitten
3 Charles H. Griffin
4 Gillespie V. Montgomery
5 William M. Colmer

Missouri
1 William Clay
2 James W. Symington
3 Leonor K. Sullivan
4 William J. Randall
5 *Richard Bolling*
6 W. R. Hull Jr.
7 DURWARD G. HALL
8 Richard Ichord
9 William L. Hungate
10 Bill D. Burlison

Montana
1 Arnold Olsen
2 JAMES BATTIN

Nebraska
1 ROBERT V. DENNEY
2 GLENN CUNNINGHAM
3 DAVE MARTIN

Nevada
AL Walter S. Baring

New Hampshire
1 LOUIS C. WYMAN
2 JAMES C. CLEVELAND

New Jersey
1 JOHN E. HUNT
2 CHARLES W. SANDMAN Jr.
3 James J. Howard
4 Frank Thompson Jr.
5 PETER FRELINGHUYSEN
6 WILLIAM T. CAHILL
7 WILLIAM B. WIDNALL
8 Charles S. Joelson
9 Henry Helstoski
10 Peter W. Rodino
11 Joseph G. Minish
12 FLORENCE P. DWYER
13 Cornelius E. Gallagher
14 Dominick V. Daniels
15 Edward J. Patten

New Mexico
1 MANUEL LUJAN
2 ED FOREMAN

New York
1 Otis G. Pike
2 JAMES R. GROVER
3 Lester L. Wolff
4 JOHN W. WYDLER
5 Allard K. Lowenstein
6 SEYMOUR HALPERN
7 Joseph P. Addabbo
8 Benjamin Rosenthal
9 James J. Delaney
10 Emanuel Celler
11 Frank J. Brasco
12 Shirley Chisholm
13 Bertram Podell
14 John J. Rooney
15 Hugh L. Carey
16 John M. Murphy
17 Edward I. Koch
18 Adam Clayton Powell
19 Leonard Farbstein
20 William F. Ryan
21 James H. Scheuer
22 Jacob H. Gilbert
23 Jonathan B. Bingham
24 Mario Biaggi
25 Richard L. Ottinger
26 OGDEN R. REID
27 MARTIN McKNEALLY
28 HAMILTON FISH JR.
29 DANIEL E. BUTTON
30 CARLETON J. KING
31 ROBERT C. McEWEN
32 ALEXANDER PIRNIE
33 HOWARD W. ROBISON
34 James M. Hanley
35 Samuel S. Stratton
36 FRANK J. HORTON
37 BARBER B. CONABLE JR.
38 JAMES F. HASTINGS
39 Richard D. McCarthy
40 HENRY P. SMITH III
41 Thaddeus J. Dulski

North Carolina
1 Walter B. Jones
2 L. H. Fountain
3 David N. Henderson
4 Nick Galifianakis
5 WILMER MIZELL
6 Richardson Preyer
7 Alton A. Lennon
8 EARL B. RUTH
9 CHARLES R. JONAS
10 JAMES T. BROYHILL
11 Roy A. Taylor

North Dakota
1 MARK ANDREWS
2 THOMAS S. KLEPPE

Ohio
1 ROBERT TAFT JR.
2 DONALD D. CLANCY
3 CHARLES W. WHALEN JR.
4 WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH
5 DELBERT L. LATTA
6 WILLIAM HARSHA
7 CLARENCE J. BROWN JR.
8 JACKSON E. BETTS
9 Thomas L. Ashley
10 CLARENCE E. MILLER
11 J. WILLIAM STANTON
12 SAMUEL L. DEVINE
13 CHARLES A. MOSHER
14 WILLIAM H. AYRES
15 CHALMERS P. WYLIE
16 FRANK T. BOW
17 JOHN M. ASHBROOK
18 Wayne L. Hays
19 Michael J. Kirwan
20 Michael A. Feighan
21 Louis Stokes
22 Charles A. Vanik
23 WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
24 DONALD E. LUKENS

Oklahoma
1 PAGE BELCHER
2 Ed Edmondson
3 Carl Albert
4 Tom Steed
5 John Jarman
6 JOHN N. CAMP

Oregon
1 WENDELL WYATT
2 Al Ullman
3 Edith Green
4 JOHN DELLENBACK

Pennsylvania
1 William A. Barrett
2 Robert N. C. Nix
3 James A. Byrne
4 Joshua Eilberg
5 William J. Green
6 *Gus Yatron*
7 LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS
8 EDWARD G. BIESTER JR.
9 G. ROBERT WATKINS
10 JOSEPH M. McDADE
11 Daniel J. Flood
12 J. IRVING WHALLEY
13 R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN
14 William S. Moorhead
15 Fred B. Rooney
16 EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN
17 HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI
18 ROBERT J. CORBETT
19 GEORGE A. GOODLING
20 Joseph M. Gaydos
21 John H. Dent
22 JOHN P. SAYLOR
23 *ALBERT W. JOHNSON*
24 Joseph P. Vigorito
25 Frank M. Clark
26 Thomas E. Morgan
27 JAMES G. FULTON

Rhode Island
1 Fernand J. St Germain
2 Robert O. Tiernan

South Carolina
1 L. Mendel Rivers
2 ALBERT W. WATSON
3 W. J. Bryan Dorn
4 James R. Mann
5 Tom S. Gettys
6 John L. McMillan

South Dakota
1 BEN REIFEL
2 E. Y. BERRY

Tennesee
1 JAMES H. QUILLEN
2 JOHN J. DUNCAN
3 WILLIAM E. BROCK III
4 Joe L. Evins
5 Richard Fulton
6 William R. Anderson
7 Ray Blanton
8 Robert A. Everett
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Return of Thich Tri Quang

Buddhists Planning New Viet Nam Demonstrations

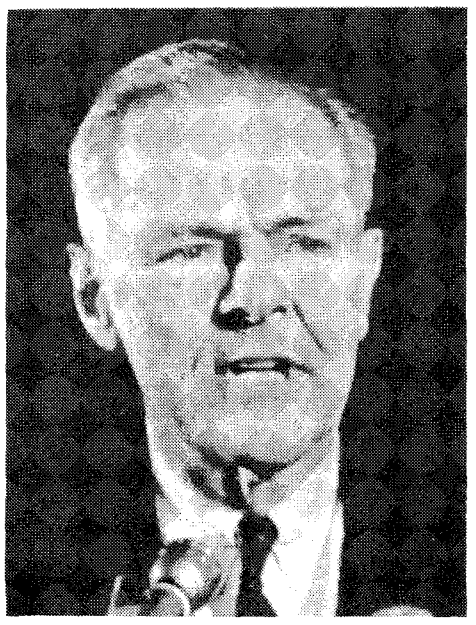
By PAUL SCOTT

The militant Buddhists are preparing to again take to the streets of Saigon.

Under the leadership of Thich Tri Quang, the pro-Communist monk who helped topple the late President Diem, the Buddhists are organizing a loosely linked, left-wing peace movement to demonstrate for an immediate cease-fire in South Viet Nam.

Principle objective of the protestors is to force the ouster of the government of President Thieu and replace it with a coalition regime including Communists.

According to South Vietnamese diplomats here in Washington, Tri Quang began organizing in early November to launch the new protests after several of his associates met secretly with Viet Cong agents.



Intimates say Henry Cabot Lodge regrets his earlier actions in Saigon and feels he was taken in by the Kennedy Administration.

Under what Tri Quang calls "movements to struggle for peace," Buddhist monks and professors who teach in Buddhist-operated high schools are being instructed to prepare their students for peace demonstrations throughout South Viet Nam in January.

Other Buddhist monks, including followers of Thong Din Dzu, the pro-neutralist Saigon lawyer, have held a series of seminars to discuss coordination of their protest campaign with Hanoi and U.S. peace moves in Paris.

Significantly, these Buddhist groups are circulating anti-Thieu statements by Defense Secretary Clark Clifford and Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) to convince other groups in South Viet Nam that the objectives of their peace movement closely parallel American aims in Paris.

The U.S. military command in Saigon has warned the White House that should this peace movement begin snowballing and violent political turbulence explode in South Viet Nam's cities, it would give a whole new shape to the war.

Not only would such violence greatly assist the floundering North Vietnamese military effort, but the fall of the South Vietnamese government could endanger the safety and supply lines of U.S. forces.

To deal with the new internal threat, the Thieu government recently pushed through the South Vietnamese legislature a little-noticed "state-of-war" resolution.

This emergency measure grants the government extraordinary powers to ban demonstrations and declare martial law in all the large cities of South Viet Nam.

Above, Buddhists riot during disorders in 1966. Long quiet, the militant monks are stirring again.

Individuals considered to be enemies of the government or believed to be helping the enemy can be arrested and detained for an indefinite time without formal charges being made against them.

The big concern of the Thieu government is whether the "lame-duck" Johnson Administration would continue its backing if it becomes necessary to repress the coming demonstrations with force.

Defense Secretary Clark Clifford's public rebuke of the Saigon government already has convinced President Thieu that the Johnson Administration has lost any determination that it might have had to keep South Viet Nam non-Communist.

South Vietnamese diplomats here say that Thieu believes Clifford is deliberately trying to set the stage for his removal so a coalition government with the Communists can be formed.

The defense secretary's stinging public blast of Thieu is being compared in Saigon circles with the criticism leveled at the late President Diem by officials of the Kennedy Administration just before the anti-Communist leader was toppled and assassinated in 1963.

Ironically, it was Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, scheduled to be named the new American negotiator in Paris, who helped pull the U.S. rug out from under Diem.

As ambassador to Saigon, Lodge in talks with Vietnamese army leaders made it plain that the U.S. would not continue to support the Diem government after he put down demonstrations aimed at overthrowing him.

Earlier, Lodge had urged President Diem to permit demonstrations in the streets by the Buddhists and the political opposition to enhance his liberal image.

Lodge also was the U.S. diplomat who granted Tri Quang asylum in the U.S. Embassy as he was about to be arrested for conspiring against the government. The action was contrary to established U.S. policy and an affront to the South Vietnamese government.

Clifford's actions and Lodge's return raise the big question of whether either the lame-duck Johnson Administration or incoming Nixon Administration learned anything from the disastrous Diem experience or if they are planning to repeat it.

The final answer could determine whether 30,000 Americans died in vain fighting in South Viet Nam since the Kennedy Administration engineered the destruction of the Diem government.

□□□

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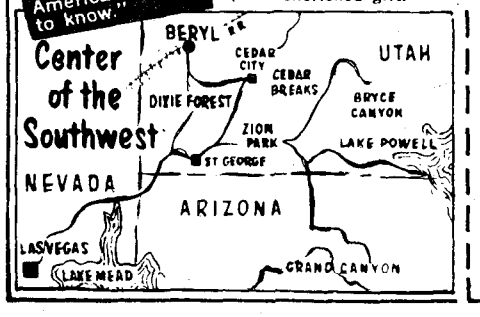

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Robbing Peter and Paul

Social Security Is a Bigger Fraud Than Ever

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, Dec. 30, 1968

"The welfare state, as somebody once observed, will tolerate anything but dissent. Thus, in a day and age when socialism in one form or another has become the reigning orthodoxy, those who reject its doctrines are likely to find scant pleasure or profit in opposition. Upon such outcasts Washington lavishes neither scholarships, grants nor lush consultants' fees. . . . No television showcase for their wares; no friendly reviews in journals of opinion; no editorial embrace by fashion magazines; no prestigious appointment to university or foundation; no Pulitzer or Nobel Prize. Heresy has never been comfortable or rewarding, but in the 'Great Society' it can be hell."

★ ★ ★

Since these words first appeared in print (*Barron's*, Oct. 31, 1966), the market for contrary opinion has taken a sharp turn for the better. True, in philanthropic and academic circles, collectivism still commands a premium; the road to serfdom, so to speak, continues to be paved with gold. With the recent shift in political fortunes, however, heresy has suddenly acquired a measure of acceptance.

Thus, Daniel P. Moynihan, who boldly questioned standard liberal dogma on the plight of the Negro in America (and who has made his apostasy worse by writing a scathing denunciation of the "War on Poverty"), has been named assistant to the President for Urban Affairs. Martin Anderson, associate professor of business at Columbia and eloquent foe of urban renewal (*The Federal Bulldozer*), will soon take up a new post on the White House staff. Perhaps most striking, Alan Greenspan, longtime critic of the U.S. anti-trust laws—which rest, so he once told our readers, on "bad economics and worse history"—and unabashed spokesman for capitalism, headed the domestic policy research staff for the Nixon team; he also serves as temporary watchdog at the Bureau of the Budget.

For the tiny honor roll of independent thinkers we hereby submit the names of Colin D. Campbell, professor of economics at Dartmouth College, and James M. Buchanan, chairman of the economics department at the University of Virginia, who have dared to challenge one of the articles of faith of the New Deal itself, Social Security. Two years ago in the *Wall Street Journal* [reprinted in *Human Events*, Dec. 31, 1966, page 10] Messrs. Buchanan and Campbell demonstrated convincingly that from the standpoint of young people just entering the labor force, the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance, OASDI) system had passed the point of no return; at age 65, the new breadwinners could never hope to receive more than a fraction of what they (and their employers) would contribute over a working lifetime.

Under recent amendments to the law—as Prof. Campbell, who has written extensively on the subject since, points out in "The Republican Papers"—the sizable gap between potential benefits and costs has widened sharply. Meanwhile, inflation is exacting a mounting toll on all beneficiaries, present and future alike. The welfare state began by robbing Peter to pay Paul. If allowed to go unchecked, it threatens to wind up victimizing everyone.

Politicians of whatever persuasion, to be sure, prefer to look on the bright side. Thus, with the noteworthy exception of Barry Goldwater, spokesmen of both parties consistently have supported the OASDI program.

Last December Congress passed what President Johnson hailed as "the greatest stride forward since Social Security was launched in 1935." Besides broadening coverage and liberalizing eligibility requirements, the 1967 amendments provided for a 13 per cent across-the-board increase in insurance benefits. They also raised the taxable wage and salary base from $6,600 to $7,800, on which, effective Jan. 1, 1969, the levy on employer and employe alike rose from 4.4 per cent to 4.8 per cent (and to a scheduled 5.9 per cent barely a decade hence).

Nor is an end to escalation anywhere in sight. On the contrary, during the recent campaign Vice President Humphrey advocated an immediate 50 per cent step-up in benefits, while Wilbur Cohen, retiring secretary of health, education and welfare, recommends that the tax base be raised to $15,000, or nearly twice the current level. President-elect Nixon, in turn, has urged that OASDI benefits be tied to the Consumer Price Index.

That inflation has played hob with Social Security beneficiaries (as with all those who live on pension and retirement income, regardless of source, or on savings) is painfully clear. A generation ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt claimed that under the proposed Social Security program, the annual payments "can be ample for a comfortable existence bearing some relation to customary wage standards."

For a while FDR's claim looked reasonably valid; in 1950, monthly benefits of a retired couple amounted to nearly half the family's budget. Under the relentless rise in living costs, however, the percentage has steadily fallen.

By 1959, OASDI benefits covered less than 40 per cent of the budget, and by the end of 1966, less than 30 per cent. In view of the accelerating rise in prices, now running at an offically conceded 5 per cent a year, even the financial relief granted in 1967 will soon be eaten up. Inflation looms as a particular menace to the growing number of people choosing retirement (at lower benefit levels) before age 65, many of whom, so the Social Security Administration fears, may be forced to apply for welfare.

As a welfare substitute, OASDI, even to its staunchest friends, has begun to seem suspect. As insurance it's an outright fraud (a Ponzi scheme, so Prof. Paul Samuelson of M.I.T. once admiringly called it). As Messrs. Buchanan and Campbell explained in their *Wall Street Journal* article, "There are more than 15 million persons now receiving federal old-age pensions—probably not one of whom paid in the full cost of his insurance benefits." Of those now retired, according to a table in "The Republican Papers" prepared by Prof. Campbell, nobody has contributed more than 29 per cent of the true cost of his benefits, while some have gotten away with as little as 11 per cent.

The burden has fallen on younger breadwinners, who will wind up paying far more than they ever can hope to receive.

Here is Prof. Campbell's analysis (all figures include the employer's contribution, which, most economists agree, really comes out of the employe's pocket):

"A young person starting work in 1968 at the age of 22 and earning at least $7,800 per year for the next 43 years is scheduled to pay OASDI taxes (including Medicare) worth $83,053, if 4 per cent interest is assumed. . . . After deducting 20 per cent of the total value of his taxes for survivors' and disability insurance, the amount *paid in for old-age insurance alone* would be $66,442. The maximum retirement benefit that this young worker is scheduled to receive is $3,876 per year—$2,616 for himself and $1,260 for his aged wife. A pension of this amount could be financed at age 65 with accumulated tax payments of only $42,183—much less than the value of the taxes he is scheduled to pay in. As an insurance policy, the explicit terms offered to a young worker under the federal old-age insurance program are not attractive."

Instead of perpetuating and aggravating the fraud, Messrs. Buchanan and Campbell offer an honest alternative. First the U.S. must acknowledge in tangible form the pension claims that now exist, a move which the authors estimate would add perhaps $500 billion to the national debt (the cost of "something for nothing" over little more than a generation). Then rates could be reduced and Social Security put on a voluntary basis. "You should live so long," the reader may be thinking, and he's probably right. But so are the two professors. In some circles, at any rate, reason commands increasing respect.

Is Collective Bargaining 'Free'?

The Continuing Threat of Strike Blackmail

By HENRY HAZLITT

How long can the country continue to tolerate strike blackmail?

In New York City, the local Teamsters union of 2,800 fuel-oil deliverers and oil-burner repairmen, whose member companies supply 40 per cent of the fuel oil to the city, demanded a substantial pay increase and higher pension. The deliverers had been receiving $145 a week and the oil-burner servicemen $151. A two-year agreement was reached between union and employer negotiators. It provided for a $20-a-week increase in pay, an increase in the monthly pension benefit from $200 to $225, retirement at age 57 instead of 65, after 25 years of service, comprehensive dental coverage and improved maternity benefits.

But at a meeting on December 15 the union membership spurned this settlement agreed to by their own negotiators and went on strike. The strike came in the middle of an extreme cold spell and the Hong Kong flu epidemic. The City Board of Health declared a state of "imminent peril." At least 40,000 persons in several thousand multiple dwellings were reported to be seriously ill. Many were confined to bed, shivering with fever as their rooms remained unheated. Yet even agreed emergency deliveries to hospitals failed to materialize.

The strike went on for nearly a week, until the negotiators for the companies and the city capitulated and granted a pay increase of $20 a week now plus another $10 in the second year.

On Christmas Eve, two days after deliveries were resumed, thousands of homes and apartment houses remained without fuel, yet most oil-truck drivers stopped work for the Christmas holiday.

This strike was a brutal act of blackmail and extortion against the public. Yet such a strike is no longer exceptional. Only two weeks before that, 20,000 employes of the Consolidated Edison Co., which supplies the electric power for New York, also rejecting a generous contract agreed to by their own negotiators, went on strike. The only thing that prevented a blackout and a freeze was the 4,000 supervisors, *who worked 12-hour shifts, sleeping on* cots next to their jobs, to man the company's 12 generating plants. In this case, also, the strikers successfully collected their ransom.

Why does the country continue to tolerate such holdups? It does so because local officials, most members of Congress and a large part of the public itself still allow reality to be hidden from them by vague sacrosanct phrases and hypocritical cliches.

The foremost of these is "free collective bargaining." But there is nothing "free" about this for the individual employer, whom the law *compels* to bargain with a union—always under a strike threat—no matter how unreasonable its demands. Technically, the employer is not compelled to make concessions. Practically, he is. If he breaks off negotiations, even after a strike begins, and tries to hire temporary or permanent replacements, he will be subjected to intimidatory mass picketing, and probably vandalism and violence, and the National Labor Relations Board will punish him for an unfair labor practice. He has little choice but to capitulate.

No one has ever explained just how the crude, selfish, violent and piecemeal process known as "collective bargaining"—in which each individual union, under the division of labor, can exploit its relative ability to cause human suffering or paralyze the economy by cutting off a vital service—contributes to social justice.

Another sacrosanct phrase is "the right to strike"—always interpreted in practice not merely as the right to quit work, but *the right to prevent anyone* else from taking the job one has voluntarily vacated.

When are we going to take a long, hard look at the federal labor laws that build up this irresponsible union power?

How long, once again, will the country continue to tolerate strike blackmail?

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San Francisco State Fiasco

Gov. Reagan Lays it on the Line

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

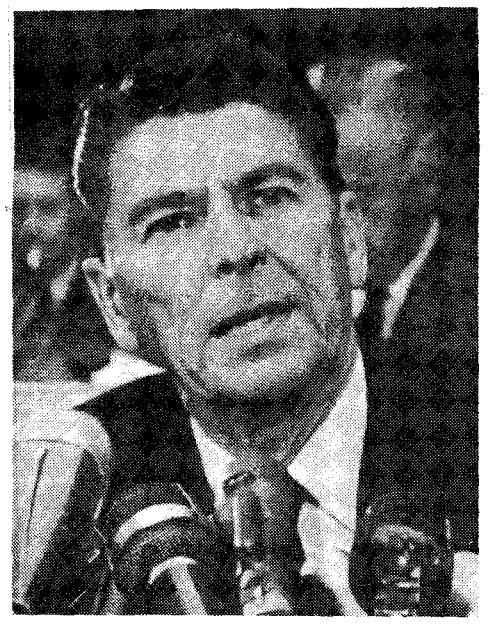
Those who undertake to read the currents of public opinion are engaged in a difficult art. Such tides never can be predicted to the fraction of an inch. Mostly it's guesswork or just plain hunch. But it's a good bet that California's Gov. Reagan has sensed public attitudes exactly in his resolute statement on campus violence.

The governor ran into newsmen on January 5 at the Sacramento airport. It was the day before San Francisco State College was scheduled to reopen. Reagan was asked for comment. He paused deliberately; then he laid it on the line.

"Those who want to get an education, those who want to teach, should be protected in that at the point of bayonet if necessary. The college has to be kept open. I don't care what force it takes. That force must be applied."

Hallelujah! That is precisely what should have been said and done all along. It is amazing, in retrospect, that such eminent men as Grayson Kirk of Columbia ever could have lost track of the truth that Reagan stated so bluntly. The campus of a college or university is like any other community. In the presence of violence, the rights of the law-abiding residents—the students who want to learn, the teachers who want to teach—have to be defended at any cost. These come first. Any compromise with this principle is an invitation to anarchy.

A year or so ago, Reagan's statement would have provoked moans, groans and gasps from the intellectual community. No more. The professors



California's Gov. Reagan has made clear he will not back down; last week he threatened to fire striking teachers.

S. I. Hayakawa, acting president of embattled San Francisco State College, lays down the law by a warning sign on campus. Hayakawa, in refreshing contrast to many of his colleagues, takes a no-nonsense attitude towards the destructive militants.

and presidents who have condoned the outrages, and sought to appease the firebrands, have gone out of style. Increasingly, the public demand is to expel the Fascist students and to fire the faculty members who enter into conspiracy with them. These militants can respect the rights of others, or they can get out. It's as simple as that, and no phony invocations of "tenure" or "academic freedom" or "the right to dissent" should be heeded any longer.

The firmness voiced in California by Gov. Reagan is not unique. Other responsible administrators have taken the same high-principled view. The trustees of Worcester Polytechnic Institute adopted a statement of policy last June—a copy has just come across my desk—that provides a model for every college in the land.

The Worcester statement opens by affirming the institute's belief in individual freedom. But "academic freedom is not academic license, and the right to criticize and protest is not the right to disrupt or to interfere with the freedom of others." The statement continues:

"Students enter Worcester Tech voluntarily. They apply presumably because they wish to further their education and hopefully because they believe Worcester Tech, with its traditions and reputation, is capable of advancing their intellectual attainments. Students come to learn, to be guided, not to direct. If they do not like some of the rules and regulations, traditions and policies of Worcester Tech, they do not have to enter. But let it be understood that having been accepted, and having decided to enter, they are expected to abide by the laws of our nation and comply with the rules and policies of Worcester Tech. Criticisms and suggestions are always in order and will continue to be welcomed, but threats, disturbances or force of any kind—whether by a single student, a minority or a majority—will not be tolerated."

The Worcester statement concludes with an explicit warning that the college offers no sanctuary to any person who condones, advocates, or exercises the seizure of private property or the use of intimidation. "Any who engage in such activities will be held fully responsible, and punishment at this college for such acts will be prompt and sufficient to the cause, including expulsion."

Worcester Tech hasn't had the first breath of trouble.

This is the sound approach. It is right in principle; it is right politically, too. The tides of permissiveness are running out. From San Francisco to Worcester, the new year sees a determination among free men to restore the order on which freedom itself depends.

(Copyright 1969, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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AN EXPLANATION? — "With the aid of psychological insights into the nature of rioting, a Yale law professor suggested recently that persons accused of criminal acts during riots could possibly develop a form of 'temporary insanity' plea at their trials. Perhaps the same case can be made for some of the public officials who were so apologetic and understanding for the acts of lawless."—From the Dallas *Morning News*.

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Continued from Page 8

A Workable Plan for Electoral College Reform

it is non-existent. It would no longer be possible to transfer large blocs of electoral votes to one candidate or another simply on the basis of the statewide outcome. Each district electoral vote would be a separate entity. No longer would the voter of a suburban district see his vote become the unwilling captive of the core city, or, conversely, that of a city dweller find his vote cast with a slim majority that may represent a more rural interest.

I might add that this reform proposal, had it been in effect in the last election, would have eliminated in this instance the problem of the errant elector. One elector from North Carolina pledged to Richard Nixon cast his vote for George Wallace instead, because he said that he was nominated as a district elector and that his district went for Wallace. After lengthy debate, Congress allowed his switched vote to stand.

Under the general ticket system, his was presumed to be a captive vote. Under the district system there would have been no question. He would not have been elected in the first place. The Wallace elector would have been and therefore no problem of putting conscience above loyalty would have arisen. The action of the North Carolina elector clearly points out what is wrong with the present system and why the district plan is needed.

Should the voters of a district express their collective will, that decision should be final. S. J. Res. 12 assures this by removing any possibility of a vote designated for one candidate being constitutionally cast for another. It requires, through constitutional mandate, that each elector follow the instructions provided by the election results.

Finally, we have the problem of a potential contingent election. The present method is as unfair to the large states as the initial election is to the small states.

Under the district plan proportionate weight is returned to the larger states. Instead of voting by state in the House of Representatives, the election is by both the House and Senate, in joint session, with each member voting individually. This recognizes the valid arguments of the bigger states that they should have more authority in determining the outcome should the electoral vote be indecisive.

Before wrapping up the case for the District Plan, an explanation is perhaps due as to why this proposal, so simple and yet so effective, was not long ago adopted.

The answer is multiple. Much of it goes back to an inherent and correct tendency on the part of Americans to avoid changes, if at all possible, in the Constitution. In addition, there was the question of equity under the district system.

During Senate debate on Electoral College reform in the 84th Congress when we were able to obtain a majority vote for a variation of the District Plan, but not the necessary two-thirds required, the question was raised as to how equitable representative congressional districts, instead of some obviously gerrymandered and others unequally represented from a population standpoint, would be provided.

To meet this criticism, the amendment was later redrawn to provide for the establishment of electoral districts to be composed of "compact and contiguous territory, containing as nearly as practicable the number of persons which entitled the states to one representative in the Congress."

Such language was, I believe, considered fair and acceptable by those who earlier had harbored some reservations as to the district system. Subsequently, however, doubts were raised as to the enforceability of this provision. From a practical viewpoint, the question was asked whether Congress would exercise its power to refuse to count the electoral votes not chosen in "compact and contiguous" districts.

Of far greater importance was the question of judicial enforcement. Serious doubts existed as to whether the judicial branch could, or should, accept jurisdiction of a case alleging malapportionment. The legal precedents on judicial enforcement of districting were not clear and, although many of us felt that by placing the provisions in the United States Constitution we had overcome this hurdle, the doubt remained, even among those who by this time believed that the revised system was a fair and acceptable method of reforming the electoral college.

Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.) has been a longtime proponent of direct elections of the President.

On March 26, 1962, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its historic decision in *Baker vs. Carr*. The result, of course, was the important fact that the court held that legislative apportionment problems were within the jurisdiction of the federal courts, that a justifiable cause of action exists and that a voter within a district that is allegedly malapportioned has standing to challenge such an arrangement.

In the wake of its *Baker vs. Carr* opinion, the court has handed down additional decisions spelling out further what has come to be known as the "one man, one vote" principle. One of these subsequent decisions, and from a practical viewpoint the one that has had the greatest impact on the question of electoral college reform, was *Wesberry vs. Sanders* which was rendered on Feb. 19, 1964.

Not only was this the first instance in which the court applied the "one man, one vote" principle on a nationwide basis, but the objects of its directive were the congressional districts rather than state legislative districts. In fact, whether the court has acted wisely in tampering with state and local apportionment is still open to serious question.

As a result of *Wesberry vs. Sanders*, however, great strides have been made over the last three years toward bringing congressional districts into line with "one man, one vote" standards. In addition, legislation has been introduced and is well on the way to passage, which would establish minimum population standards for House districts.

This clearly points out that the judicial and legislative branches have both accepted the proposition that congressional districts should be equal and equitable in composition. This situation will eventually allow the District Plan, in complete fairness, to evolve back to the original and simpler plan of using the concept of congressional districts.

Other plans, as I have indicated, have also been proposed. The one receiving the most publicity has been the direct election plan. In my estimation, this is worse than the present system.

In the first place, such a proposal is a direct attack on our federal system of government and if such a plan were ever adopted, it would mean we have reneged on a promise made to our forefathers, in particular those representing the smaller states.

When the Union was formed, the small states feared that the government would be dominated by the larger states. A compromise was reached whereby all states were guaranteed equal representation in the Senate regardless of size while the House of Representatives would be determined by population. This same guarantee and compromise was carried over to the allocation of electoral vote strength.

Adoption of a direct vote plan would wipe out this principle of equality of states. Federalism, which is still the cornerstone of our republican form of government, would be ignored.

Going hand in hand with this problem is the question of who supervises the election process if the states are ignored. If we are to be completely fair to citizens of all the states under a direct vote for President, the election laws and regulations should be uniform. The only body with jurisdiction to do this is the federal government.

In spite of denials by advocates of the direct vote plan, it is clear that by adopting it we would be setting ourselves on the road to complete federalization and centralization of our election machinery and process, a step many of us believe should not be taken.

In addition, the direct vote plan, as well as the proportional proposal, poses a threat to our traditional two-party system of government. By recognizing the votes cast for all minor parties, it will be impossible for any candidate to receive a majority and frequently difficult even to receive a 40 per cent plurality.

This not only sows the seeds of multiparty government with all the drawbacks so familiar to the European system, but should a runoff election be necessary, it could be that the new President is not determined until December or even later, thus leaving him little time to select and form his administration.

In reality, arguments over the operation of a direct vote system are moot because it could never be adopted even if it were passed by Congress, which is also highly doubtful.

Simple arithmetic argues against ratification. Such a constitutional amendment would have to be approved by 38 state legislatures. Any 13 state legislatures could defeat ratification.

As an example of the problems faced by a direct election plan in the state legislatures, let me cite statistics from the 1968 election. Official returns now show that Massachusetts produced a majority of 702,379 votes for Hubert Humphrey. On the other hand, 17 states ranging in size from Alaska to Wisconsin all went decisively for Richard Nixon and yet their total majority for Nixon was only 691,156.

In practical political terms, this means that 17 states with an aggregate electoral vote of 84 would have their votes completely cancelled out by one state representing only 14 electoral votes. The legislatures of these 17 states and many others can recognize the fact that their influence would be diminished by a direct vote plan and for the most part, accordingly, would not vote for a constitutional amendment providing for a direct vote for President.

If we truly want reform, and I believe reform is needed, we must unite behind a plan that is practical and possible of being adopted. The only plan that fits that definition, in my estimation, is the District Plan.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Tribute for Bob Hope

By REP. ED REINECKE (R.-Calif.)

I would like to commend the patriotism, the generosity, and the good fellowship of that outstanding American comedian, Bob Hope, for the remarkable record he has established over the years as an entertainer of American troops abroad, especially at Christmastime.

He has been at it for many years. Unquestionably, many of the troops who are hearing his jokes today, in Viet Nam and other far-off places, are the sons of men who enjoyed his overseas performances back in World War II. Twenty-eight years ago this March, Bob Hope staged his first show for servicemen. Since then, under the joint sponsorship of the USO and the Defense Department, he has flown more than two million miles to entertain almost 12 million soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen. As the enemy of loneliness, he has become the best friend a homesick serviceman could hope to have. And by working overtime, at Christmas —contrary to all the traditions of his trade—he has established himself as a jet-propelled Christmas present, to thousands upon thousands of Americans away from home.

It is noteworthy that the presence of Bob Hope in Viet Nam, in 1967, brought forth an indignant denunciation from the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*. With enemies like that, you can see how important he has become to the American military position abroad.

With his gallant band of faithful performers and technicians he recently has played to troops in Europe and Japan, Thailand, Guam and the Philippines, and it is commonly believed that so long as he is able to get up on a stage, he will keep on doing so for the benefit of our fighting men.

I would like to express my admiration for this remarkable American, who has done more for the morale of our servicemen abroad than any other single living soul.

Hickel, Hardin Choices

By REP. JOHN WOLD (R.-Wyo.)

I am pleased with the Cabinet selections President-elect Nixon made, especially with the choice of Alaska Gov. Hickel as interior secretary and Dr. Hardin as agriculture secretary. Wyoming and Alaska are alike in many ways. They both have large areas of public lands and tremendous reserves of natural resources. Hickel, coming from Alaska, will bring an awareness and knowledge to the Interior Department that we have needed. I have met Gov. Hickel and I am certain that in the next four years Interior Department policies will help open up development of the Western public lands, especially Wyoming. We should see progress in an oil shale program which will give private enterprise an opportunity as well as giving the government a fair return. Dr. Hardin, the chancellor of the University of Nebraska, will be a spokesman for agriculture rather than the consumer. Past policies of the Department of Agriculture have been slanted toward the consumer and have created serious problems for the producer. Wyoming is a producing state. I think under Dr. Hardin we will see a beginning to solutions for the nation's farmer and rancher.

Unbelievable Proposal

By REP. WILLIAM SCHERLE (R.-Iowa)

Surely one of the most flagrant examples of the moral bankruptcy which exists among some of the creators of the "Great Society" and its programs was brought to the public's attention through an article in the Des Moines *Register* recently.

Under the model cities program, which is financed with federal funds, a proposal was made to provide economic aid to promote prostitution in Detroit, Mich.

Even more incredible is that this plan was approved by the Detroit, Mich., City Council as part of a $100-million request to the Department of Housing and Urban Development as a model cities plan.

The council voted 6 to 2 to submit the model cities plan in hopes of getting a five-year, $100-million grant. Detroit would receive $20.5 million in the first year.

It is outrageous that anyone connected with the federal government would have the gall to allow this proposal to build a red light district for Detroit with the revenue provided by the taxpayers of this country.

If our goal is to improve the quality of life in our urban areas, it is unbelievable to think that such a program would in any sense be a step forward. It would legalize the very forces of crime and corruption.

A Scientist's Lament

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Dr. Philip Handler of Duke University, soon to become president of the National Academy of Sciences, is quoted as believing these are "dismal times" for science. "Dismal" because the floodgates of federal money for university research grants haven't been opened any wider since 1964. Dr. Handler's real complaint, of course, is that mushrooming inflation in the last few years has eaten away at what each grant dollar will buy. The eminent scientist must surely be living in one of Duke's ivy-covered towers, and he obviously doesn't understand economics any better than the Johnson Administration's fiscal wizards, because his solution to these "dismal times" is a huge new system of federal grants, with no restrictions on how the schools spend the money. How about $500 million "just for starters"? he says. Well, doctor, you couldn't be more wrong. You and your fellow researchers are in the soup for the simple reason that you have become completely dependent, in your own words, "on science project grants." Ironically, you and a great number of welfare recipients are in much the same boat. It's just another sad example of what happens to a people who give up part of their independence in return for handouts from a paternalistic bureaucracy in Washington.

Electoral Inequities

By REP. DAVID HENDERSON (D.-N.C.)

On January 6 the House considered a question in one sense trivial, but in another, highly important.

It was the resolution, offered by Rep. James O'Hara (D.-Mich.), to the effect that the House refuse to count and consider the electoral vote cast by Dr. Lloyd W. Bailey, a duly qualified Republican presidential elector from Rocky Mount, N.C. A plurality of North Carolina's popular vote was cast for Richard Nixon and this was the reason the Republican electors had the privilege of casting the state's 13 electoral votes. But Dr. Bailey did not cast his vote for Nixon. Instead, he voted for George C. Wallace, of Alabama.

Dr. Bailey's reasons or motives were immaterial so far as Congress was concerned and you might logically argue that the whole thing was a tempest in a teapot. Richard Nixon would win without Dr. Bailey's vote, or even without any of North Carolina's 13 electoral votes.

My position and that of a majority of the membership of both the House and Senate was that while Dr. Bailey may have been morally bound to cast the vote entrusted to him for the candidate of his party, that neither the United States Constitution nor the law of the state of North Carolina requires him to do so and that the only way to change that situation is by way of amendment to the United States Constitution, changes to our state law, or both.

All of us would agree, however, that changes are badly needed in a system which not only makes it possible for a candidate to be elected President of the United States without receiving anything approaching a majority of the popular vote of the nation, but also permits an elector to cast his vote for his own arbitrary choice instead of for the candidate of the party which selected him and who he supposedly represents.
[See article by Sen. Mundt on page 8.]

House Seats But Punishes Powell

Following is the 248-to-175 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives refused on January 3 to adopt a resolution by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) to seat Adam Clayton Powell in the 91st Congress without any punishment at that time. The vote, the first of several taken on the issue, was in effect a refusal to seat the Harlem lawmaker without conditions. After considerable debate the House did vote, later in the day, 252 to 160, to seat Powell but to fine him $25,000 and strip him of all seniority.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 151

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson (Calif.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Biaggi
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clark
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels (N.J.)
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Leggett
Long (Md.)
Lowenstein
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Podell
Price (Ill.)
Rees
Reuss
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stokes
Sullivan
Symington
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Whitten
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Yatron
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 24

Anderson (Ill.)
Ayres
Bell (Calif.)
Biester
Button
Conte
Coughlin
Derwinski
Findley
Fulton (Pa.)
Gude
Halpern
McClory
McCloskey
McDonald (Mich.)
Morse
Railsback
Riegle
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Smith (N.Y.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Whalen

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 86

Abbitt
Abernethy
Alexander
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell
Caffery
Casey
Colmer
Daniel (Va.)
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Everett
Fisher
Flowers
Flynt
Fountain
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gaydos
Gettys
Gibbons
Griffin
Hagan
Haley
Hebert
Hechler (W. Va.)
Henderson
Hull
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (N. C.)
Kazen
Kee
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
McMillan
Mahon
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Montgomery
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Patman
Poage
Preyer (N. C.)
Pryor (Ark.)
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Shipley
Sikes
Slack
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Waggonner
Watts
White
Young

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 162

Adair
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Bates
Battin
Beall (Md.)
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Camp
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Collins
Conable
Corbett
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Dellenback
Denney
Dennis
Devine
Dickinson
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Foreman
Frelinghuysen
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Heckler (Mass.)
Hogan
Horton
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Landgrebe
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lujan
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
McKneally
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Mizell
Morton
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes
Robison
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruth
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Weicker
Whalley
Whitehurst
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wold
Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Wyman
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING: 11

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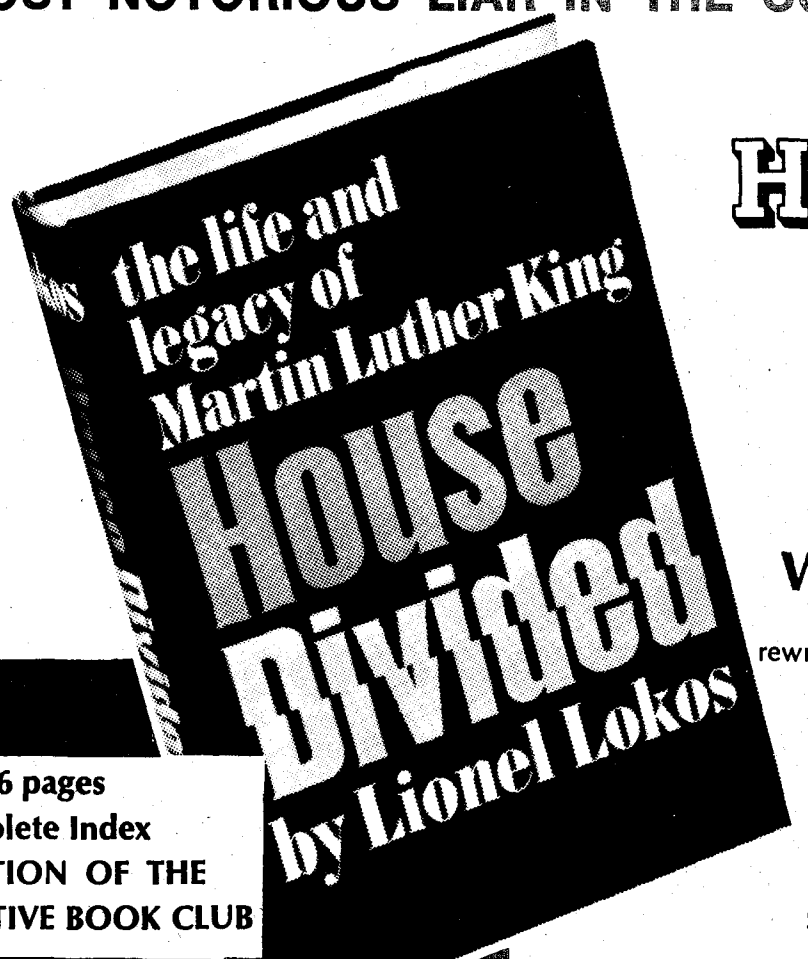

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"After the assassination much was said about the legacy he left his country. Some called it a legacy of love. Some called it a legacy of peace. For myself, I am perfectly willing to grant his brilliance, his basic sincerity, his charismatic effect upon perhaps hundreds of thousands of Americans — and still regretfully conclude that primarily Martin Luther King left his country a legacy of lawlessness."

— Lionel Lokos

WE SHARE THE HORROR felt by every decent American at the violence that cut down Martin Luther King. But the tragedy is only compounded when history is rewritten to make the victim a martyr; even, blasphemously, a latter-day Christ. And that is what we are getting from the dozens of "assassination books" now tumbling off the presses: propaganda posing as history.

There is an even greater danger if we turn away from the truth. Because in the truth about Martin Luther King we can discover where our nation has taken the wrong turns; why race is being pitted against race; and how to right those wrong turns. Despite the tragedy of April 4, Birmingham remains Birmingham, Selma remains Selma, history remains history, facts remain facts. That is why we salute a brave journalist, and are proud to bring you his book on Dr. King . . . a book that disdains to rewrite history.

This is no quickie biography, rushed to the printer to cash in on the emotional shock of the assassination. Lionel Lokos, author of *Hysteria 1964: The Fear Campaign Against Barry Goldwater,* spent nearly two years researching and writing this book. After the assassination he went back to his typewriter to add the climactic chapter, "A Bullet in Memphis."

The scope of this bold book is much broader than the life of one man. This is the story of a decade of discontent: the Montgomery bus boycott which launched Dr. King; Birmingham and Selma; several campaigns the civil-rights movement would like to forget, with the author's illuminating analysis of why certain communities were *not* overcome by King's "loving confrontations." Here too are careful accounts of the rise of Black Power, and Stokely Carmichael's sudden prominence; of riots in Los Angeles, Newark, Detroit and hundreds of other American communities; of King's attempts to merge the civil-rights and anti-Vietnam-war movements; of his political love affair with Ho Chi Minh; of the guerrilla warfare that is raking our cities.

Risk-Free Examination

Though clearly no idolator of Dr. King, Lionel Lokos is no racist either. He writes not in a spirit of hatred, or even anger, but rather in sorrow at the tragedy that has fallen upon this nation because of false counsel.

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